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조선로동당 중앙위원회직속 당력사연구소

김 일 성
저 작 선 집
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ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF COMMODITY CIRCULATION

Speech Delivered at a National Conference of Activists in Trade

February 14, 1957

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party and the Government I pay my regards, through this conference, to all the workers of the state and co-operative trade organizations in our country.

Today when the national economy of our country is entering a new stage to carry out the First Five-Year Plan, our trade is confronted with an enormous task.

Trade is an important means to link production with consumption and to strengthen the economic ties between town and country. Without developing trade, therefore, it is impossible to further develop industry and agriculture, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and improve the people's living standard.

After the war, our country's trade has developed under very difficult circumstances. Immediately after the armistice, our sources of merchandise were very much limited and nearly all the trade networks in town and country were disrupted. However, as a result of the fulfilment of the postwar Three-Year Plan, we have achieved great successes in the supply of goods to meet the needs of the people. Thanks to the rapid restoration and development of industrial and agricultural production and a marked improvement in trade, we have become

able to supply the working people with much more consumer goods than in prewar days.

On many occasions, the Party and the Government lowered prices and raised the wages of the workers and office employees considerably to guarantee a higher standard of living for the working people. And a new, fixed tax-in-kind system has been introduced and the state purchasing prices of agricultural produce have been raised markedly. As a result, as of the end of 1956, the real wages of the workers and office employees surpassed the prewar level and the incomes of the peasants, too, showed a rapid increase.

These successes we have accomplished in only three years since the armistice can in no way be regarded as small. This is the result of our Party's correct policy for improving our people's standard of living. Just these successes in improving the people's standard of living will now suffice to dissuade anybody from questioning the correctness of our Party's economic policy.

Can it then be said that the people now have a bountiful life? Of course, not. Our people still live under difficult conditions. In the three years of war, not only was our national economy devastated, but our people's standard of living fell at an unprecedented rate. The working people lost almost all their furniture and household goods, clothes and other personal effects, to say nothing of their homes. Owing to the war our people lost all their economic base achieved in the years following liberation. Though we are supplying the working people with much more goods than in prewar days and their incomes have risen higher, the people's life is still hard and has not improved noticeably as compared with prewar days, because the war damage was too serious. We should be clearly aware of that situation in the people's standard of living. We should continue to strive for a better life for the people.

Today the people's rapidly growing purchasing power demands an increased production of necessaries of life on the one hand and, on the other, the improvement and development of the supply of goods.

There is no doubt that if we fail to meet this urgent requirement in our internal life, we will not be able to consolidate what we have already accomplished in the struggle to improve the people's standard of living, and it will also prove a great hindrance to its future improvement. The December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party established the 1957 plan on the basis of a correct calculation of this state of affairs. The total retail turnover of the state and co-operative trade organizations for 1957 is set at 73,000 million *won*. This is a huge plan, 23.7 per cent higher than the previous year. We should not only fulfil, but overfulfil, this plan without fail.

Can we provide goods enough to carry out this plan? Of course, we can. As you also well know, all the working people in the fields of industry, agriculture and transport of our country, upholding the decisions of the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, are now out in a broad patriotic emulation campaign to increase production and to ensure economy, actively exploring all reserves in production. The unusually high enthusiasm of the working people on the job shows that it is already quite possible to assure the necessary sources of merchandise adequately this year. Furthermore, we even have the prospect of laying up considerable amounts of commodities in reserve. If only we direct the heightened enthusiasm of the working people properly, there will be no danger of failing to absorb the purchasing power of the population because of a lack of goods.

The growing needs of the population, however, cannot be satisfied by an increased production of goods alone. While more goods are produced, the supply of commodities must be improved and developed without fail.

At present, our country's trade fails to keep abreast of the growth in production and the requirements of the people's life. Our trade fails to accommodate itself to the new situation, and has not yet emerged from the old grooves.

Various shortcomings in trade should be remedied and the work of commodity circulation should be improved and strengthened decisively. As for the shortcomings in trade and the i

ahead, they were specifically pointed out at the December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and at a meeting of its Presidium held sometime ago.

I would like to comment once again on only a few problems which need special emphasis for the strengthening of domestic commodity circulation at the present time.

In the first place, trade in the towns and workers' districts should be strengthened and, in particular, the supply of foodstuffs should be further improved. In the postwar years great changes have taken place in our towns and workers' districts. Many factories and ore and coal mines have been rehabilitated and built, while tremendous construction work in urban areas has gone ahead. As a result, the urban population has increased and new workers' districts and residential quarters have come into being.

Our trade, however, has not been reorganized promptly in a rational way to meet these changes. A considerable proportion of the trade networks is irrationally distributed and is not adjacent to the consumer districts. The allotment and supply of goods according to local needs have not been properly taken care of either.

Many trade institutions, in particular, have failed to put the main stress on the work of supplying the workers' districts; they have grossly neglected this work. To make their work easier, trade institutions supply the workers' districts with less goods than allotted by the state, and provide excessive amounts to small- and medium-sized towns or to markets where they sell easily. This shows that our trade workers pay little attention to the improvement of the workers' standard of living. A large number of trade workers are oblivious to their class position. Such workers make little effort to study deeply and carry out thoroughly our Party's policy in regard to trade.

In the past, there were some officials in the Ministry of Trade who did not carry out the Party's policy faithfully. This resulted in a very inadequate supply of goods for the workers. The supply of goods to major industrial areas including those around ore and coal mines lags far behind goods supply to

small- and medium-sized towns. Supply of foodstuffs to the towns and workers' districts is exceedingly remiss. Trade establishments in many workers' districts rely entirely on the manufactured goods allotted by the state, and supply them quite insufficiently at that. Since trade agencies in the workers' districts have paid almost no attention to the supply of foodstuffs, they fail to absorb even half of the workers' wages.

Under the present living conditions of our workers and office employees, the demands for foodstuffs account for more than half of the total consumer goods. Of course, food grain, soy sauce, bean paste, etc., are supplied by the state. But this alone is not enough. They need cereals, vegetables and different kinds of other subsidiary foodstuffs and seasonings. Our trade agencies do not supply such things, thus causing much inconvenience to the workers in their life.

I have visited large workers' districts such as Kangson, Nampo and Songrim. Kangson, for instance, has but one store attached to the factory though it has a very large working population. This factory store deals only in manufactured goods and not in foodstuffs.

Stores in many workers' districts are not authorized to purchase foodstuffs for themselves either. Such being the case, the supply of foodstuffs through the channels of state and cooperative trade organizations is virtually blocked in the workers' districts. The workers, therefore, have no choice but to buy foodstuffs from individual tradesmen. Even so, there are so few of these tradesmen that food items needed by the workers are definitely in short supply, and in places like Kangson their price is much higher than in Pyongyang.

If the supply of foodstuffs lags in this way, the workers' standard of living will not improve, no matter how high we raise their wages. Lag in the supply of foodstuffs will cause a serious shortage of them in towns and workers' districts and, as a result, will bring about a rise in their prices. This will undoubtedly give help to the speculators and profiteers in their operations and lead to a reduction in the real wages of workers and office employees.

operatives in the Sinchon area, I will not repeat them here today.

We held a meeting with the management staffs of the agricultural co-operatives in that area for several days, and here in Haeju, we are now meeting again for three consecutive days, with the management staffs of the agricultural co-operatives from the 12 city and counties.

This meeting has shown us that many shortcomings still exist in the guidance of our rural economy. The defects of our leading agricultural functionaries can be divided broadly into two categories: one, an incorrect style of work, and the other, incorrect leadership in farm work.

1. ON ACQUIRING THE COMMUNIST TRAITS OF A REVOLUTIONARY

I should like to touch first on the work style of our leading personnel. The communist work spirit required of a revolutionary has not yet been well established among the leading workers of the rural economy. Bureaucratic and formalistic work styles, irresponsibility, bombast, fame-seeking, conservatism, empiricism, etc., still exist among you to a large extent. All these are manifestations of the survivals of old ideologies left over from capitalist society. You should definitively do away with these old styles of work.

In our country today, the material and technical foundations of socialism have been further strengthened and the revolutionary spirit of the popular masses is continuing to grow higher. Therefore, there is no doubt that even greater success will be ours if our leading functionaries rectify their old styles of work promptly. You should, therefore, direct foremost efforts to acquiring the communist traits of a revolutionary.

Our Party has entrusted you with the important revolutionary task of building socialism in the countryside. Our peo-

ple suffered from feudal exploitation and oppression for hundreds of years. Later, they were subjected to the piratic plunder of Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century. As a result, our agriculture remained very backward and the peasants languished in poverty. It is a very important revolutionary task to turn our backward and needy farm villages into modern, civilized socialist villages.

In the past people said: "Agriculture is the great foundation of the country," and today they say: "Rice is socialism." All this shows how important agriculture is. Although we may possibly reconcile ourselves to other things, we can make no compromise with hunger. The most important thing, therefore, is to solve the problem of food for the people. Only when our crops are good and food is plentiful, can the whole economic life of our country improve.

At present our people are building a happy socialist society in which everybody will live in tile-roofed houses, wear silk clothes, eat rice and meat soup, and work together with adequate knowledge and techniques for the good of society and people. This is the goal set by our Party and also the long-cherished desire of our people. This task set forth by our Party is not a dream, but a realistic enterprise fully feasible through the struggle of our people.

The results scored so far by our people are eloquent proof that this revolutionary task is well within our power. We completely abolished the feudal relations of exploitation in the countryside long ago and also carried out the difficult work of reorganizing the individual peasant economy into a socialist co-operative sector of the economy. And we are now successfully carrying out the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization in our rural areas. Thus the face of our countryside has changed beyond recognition.

A great change has also taken place in the life of the peasantry. It can be said that during the rule of the Japanese scoundrels our peasants had the status of hired farm hands who worked for others. But after liberation they became poor peasants who owned their land; later, as socialist construction

advanced in the countryside they became middle peasants; at present they are all rising to the level of well-to-do middle peasantry.

If we take one more step forward now, everybody will be able to live in affluence like the rich. When this takes place, our people's aspirations will be realized. Our people have now entered a new stage of struggle to attain this very ideal. In this Seven-Year Plan period, we intend to make all people live in plenty like the rich.

By the rich, however, we do not mean those who live in idleness as in the old days, but those who work and live a comfortable and plentiful life.

To give our people an affluent, comfortable life, we must increase production. To increase production, it is, indeed, necessary to work more, but is also very important to further develop our productive forces through the technical revolution. Therefore, we should irrigate, electrify, mechanize and chemicalize our agriculture during the Seven-Year Plan. Only by raising the level of productive forces in this way, is it possible to free all people from heavy labour and raise their living standards by producing more while working easily and joyfully.

As all of you know, under the old rule of the Japanese devils the life of the people was so hard that they regarded their very existence as a misfortune. Today, however, as socialism is built in our country, everybody enjoys his life and wants to live longer. Yesterday, I heard someone over the radio singing of his wish to live for a hundred years and more; that is not a feeling confined to him alone, but represents the desire of all the people.

As a matter of fact, before, a handful of landlords and capitalists lived in luxury by exploiting and plundering others. They glutted themselves like pigs. We, however, are going to build a society where all people will live well in tile-roofed houses, will wear silk and eat rice and meat soup. Those who still have the survivals of obsolete ideas want a plentiful life only for themselves. But in our country today, no one is allowed to live in affluence for himself. He who says "all for one"

and not "one for all" views everything from the old ideological standpoint. If we think in this way, we cannot solve the problem of giving abundance to all alike.

Comrades, just think of it! What a worthwhile thing it is to give our peasants—who for ages lived miserably in mud huts—cosy, modern houses, to free from heavy work our peasants who used to till paddy and dry fields by pulling *hori* ploughs tied to their shoulders, and who carried burdens on their backs till they grew bent, and to feed all of them well and give them a plentiful and long life! When we do all this, even the peasants who are politically backward will fully realize how good socialism is.

For all you comrades working in the rural economy—the leading functionaries of the provincial people's committee in charge of agriculture, workers of the county agricultural co-operative management committees, chairmen of the agricultural co-operatives, tractor drivers, workers of the irrigation administration offices, management personnel of the agricultural co-operatives and all co-operative members—what an honourable assignment is this revolutionary task entrusted to you by our Party!

Nothing is more worthwhile and honourable than to work for the good of society and people. So, to cultivate the communist traits required of a revolutionary, you must clearly understand, before anything else, how important and honourable your revolutionary task is. Thus, everyone should have a pride and a high sense of responsibility in his job and should always seethe with revolutionary enthusiasm.

Now, what do we mean by the communist traits of a revolutionary?

First, they should be expressed by a determined struggle to defend the Party's policies and carry them through to the end.

The lines and policies of our Party lay down the course we must follow to make all our people live well and make our country wealthy and powerful. The struggle for carrying out the Party's lines and policies is precisely the revolutionary

struggle. A revolutionary, therefore, should persistently and devotedly fight for the implementation of the Party's policies. This is the first and foremost quality required of a revolutionary.

Judging from your speeches at this meeting, however, it seems that you still lack will to carry through the Party's policies to the end. Those who have had a tenacious attitude in materializing the Party's intentions have scored great successes, but those lacking this spirit have failed to do their work well. Yesterday we heard about how determined Comrade Chon Pil Nyo of the Kumsong Agricultural Co-operative in Paechon County was in her struggle to shore up the lagging stockbreeding team. She made tremendous efforts to raise just one pig more and worked ceaselessly to procure sorely-needed feed. Thus, she achieved great success. To carry out the Party's policies, one must display activity as she did.

Without a strong will and indefatigable fighting spirit to implement the Party's policies, no success can be scored in any work—the work of transforming backward persons along communist lines, the work of producing what is lacking and devising new things, the work of making new inventions in science, etc. Doing things in a slipshod manner or giving up without finishing a task shows a weak revolutionary fighting spirit. This attitude can bring no success in anything. The Party's policies must be carried through to the end.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas fought a heroic struggle during 15 long years, overcoming all hardships and tribulations. However, some changed their attitudes, instead of being loyal to the revolution to the last because of their weak revolutionary will, even though they had participated in the revolutionary struggle at first. Some, after struggling for a long time, surrendered to the enemy right before the Japanese scoundrels laid down their arms. This is like a patient who, told by the doctor to take 100 doses of medicine, takes 99, with the result that the medicine fails to take effect.

There is a revolutionary song, too, that expresses the strong fighting spirit of revolutionaries in the following lines: "Let the

coward flinch and traitors sneer. We'll keep the Red Flag flying here." Only those who adhere to the line of the revolution and the policies of the Party to the last and fight to carry them out in spite of all difficulties, can become revolutionaries. There is an old adage that says there is nothing impossible for the strong-willed; this is much more true today when our revolutionaries are purposefully struggling to build a communist society.

Our Party's policies are fully feasible because they are based on a scientific analysis of actual conditions in accordance with Marxism-Leninism. Success in all work hinges upon whether or not we correctly grasp and persistently carry out the Party's policies.

In order to carry out the Party's policies creditably, it is necessary, first of all, to understand them well. Only by making a profound study of the Party's policies can you get a clear idea of their correctness. And only by fully grasping the intentions of the Party can you have a firm faith in the victory of the revolutionary struggle and devise the correct method of struggle.

The Party's policies elucidate Marxist-Leninist ways and means for carrying out the revolution in Korea. Our Party has set forth a series of tasks to build socialism in the rural areas of our country, strictly basing itself on Marxist-Leninist principles. Our Party has advanced the tasks of electrification, irrigation and mechanization, and set forth correct policies on how to improve the land, develop seed production, manage socialist agriculture, etc. Only by profoundly studying and correctly grasping all these agricultural policies of our Party is it possible to successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks confronting the rural economy.

In studying the Party's policies it will not do to just glance at their titles, as if one were licking the rind of a watermelon, nor to read again and again only the first chapter of a book, as is satirized in our comic stage dialogues. If you study Party policies in such a way as to merely learn words or phrases by heart, out of touch with reality, you will get nothing from it.

With this approach, you cannot get a deep understanding of the Party's intentions nor find the correct course to take. Those without a deep knowledge of the Party's policies will not only be unable to carry on their work creatively but will waver when they run up against difficulties.

When we waged the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle before, those who did not have a deep grasp of the revolution wavered whenever they encountered difficulties. Eventually, they went so far as to abandon the revolutionary ranks. But those with a clear idea of the revolution firmly believed in the inevitable downfall of Japanese imperialism. They thought that Japanese imperialism was bound to meet its doom sooner or later, and that their own struggle would be decisive in bringing about this fall. Because we firmly believed that our cause was not only just but would inevitably end in victory, we bravely fought it out, enduring all hardships. Thus, we who untiringly waged a struggle along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism emerged victorious in the end.

Our leading personnel in the rural economy, too, should now make a thorough study of our Party's agricultural policies which represent the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, and should actively strive to carry them out, if they want to build socialism successfully in the countryside. Thus, the most important quality of Communists is to know the Party's policies profoundly and to make persistent endeavours to carry them out.

Second, the communist traits of our leading personnel as revolutionaries should be manifested in going among the masses, delving into reality at all times.

To know people, you should go among them; to know machines, you should go to the place where machines are; to know soil, you should dig in the ground; and to know all about mountains, you should go to them.

Just sitting at our desks, divorced from the masses and from reality, we cannot see the strength of the masses nor can we understand what is actually taking place or why. Without knowing the strength of the masses and reality, we cannot make any

calculations or spot latent reserves or organize and mobilize the masses to carry out revolutionary tasks. After all, any undertaking that is not based on contact with the masses and knowledge of reality will be subjective. Therefore, he who has a subjective attitude towards his work cannot be a revolutionary.

We should always go among the masses and consult with them; we should make a deep study of reality and work out all our calculations in detail on the spot. To make a detailed calculation means working out a concrete plan of action. In the past our forefathers used the word "calculation" for planning. You can be successful in all work only when you go among the masses, coming in touch with the realities and mapping out a detailed plan of action suited to actual conditions.

Under socialism, literature and art, too, must be realistic. Novels, dramas and songs which are based on real-life facts gleaned from sharing the life of the masses, giving a good artistic portrayal of their psychology and actual life, convey lifelike impressions and conform to the feelings of the masses. Only these works have educational value. However, the music which a composer writes by himself, sitting at his desk, without seeing reality, cannot express in the least the true feelings of the masses. The masses, therefore, will not understand what that music wants to convey, though for all I know it may please the composer himself.

In the past there were no professional composers in the anti-Japanese guerrilla units; young combatants got together and composed music collectively. But the songs by them expressed the guerrillas' sentiments and stirred up courage in the people, because the masses themselves wrote those songs and they expressed their own sentiments truthfully.

And today, works based on a deep study of reality among the masses reflect real life truthfully and have gained the hearts of the people. The drama *Red Agitator* is an example of this. The comrades who act in it all went out to the countryside and shared the farm work and life of the peasants for as long as half a year. In this way, they made energetic efforts to cor-

rectly mirror rural life in their play, studying all aspects of the peasants' life in reality, which resulted in the success of this work. The comrades who played the roles of Li Sin Ja and the workteam leader in the drama lived with the real-life heroine and hero and learned their way of speaking and acting. That is why they could act in a lifelike manner on the stage without the least artificiality.

In contrast, the play *We Are Happy* portraying Comrade Kil Hwak Sil has some shortcomings, for it is inconsistent with reality. In this play, too, most of the actors and actresses performed their parts well, since they had made a profound and detailed study of the workers in real-life situations, working with them. Yet, some performers did not learn from reality and uttered only empty words contradicting actual facts. As a result, the play was not realistic though its material was originally good.

In work situations, too, a person who only talks empty words, divorced from the masses and from reality, cannot carry out his revolutionary task.

An emperor or a king of olden times or a provincial governor, a county chief or other high-ranking officials in the years of Japanese imperialist rule, did not go among the masses, and did not need to do so. They did not need the opinions of the masses. They always imposed their own subjective views on the masses, forcing them to do whatever they wanted, regardless of the consequences. That is why we say they were not faithful servants of the people but bureaucrats who gave orders.

Bureaucracy and revolution are incompatible. The revolution we are making is for the good of the masses and radically differs from the methods of the bureaucrats in the past who acted outrageously, blinded by their own self-interest. Only when one carries on revolutionary work for the masses, can he realize his own hopes, too. Personal interests find their most thorough and concrete safeguards only in a revolution for the sake of the masses. To work for the masses, therefore, is also to work for oneself.

For our revolutionary work to really serve the masses, our leading functionaries should always go among the masses, consult with them to solve all matters, clearly explaining everything, deriving strength and wisdom from them. At the same time, they should spot the needs and problems of the masses and solve them promptly.

We should always identify ourselves with the masses in life and struggle, and base ourselves on reality, breathing the same air with them. This alone will enable us to tap the strength of the masses, acquire a deep grasp of the realities and also gain confidence for the correct performance of our revolutionary tasks. Only by going among the masses and basing ourselves on reality, is it possible to get acquainted with all problems opportunely and settle them correctly.

In mapping out the Party's policy, too, we should not do it in a subjective way but on the basis of a correct analysis of the realities and an accurate study of the thinking of the masses. Only then will the Party's policy become the masses' own and display a great vitality. The agrarian reform in our country is a good illustration of the great vitality the Party's policy has when it clearly reflects the needs of the masses and the realities. When we enforced the agrarian reform, many opposed it and the reactionaries raised a storm. Moreover, land tenure relations were very intricate. Some tenanted other people's land and rented out their own land; some tilled part of their own land and rented out the remaining part to others. Thus, it was important for us to draft an Agrarian Reform Law which would take into full account all these conditions. In order to correctly solve this complex problem, we personally went to the farm villages. We talked and consulted with the peasants, sharing their life for more than a month. Because we went among the masses and consulted with them, we were able to draw up correct solutions for all problems, deciding, for instance, that it would be right to dispose of this kind of land in this way and that kind of land in that way, and what amount of land should be confiscated As a result, we were able to actively elicit the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasant masses to enforce the agrarian reform and

successfully carry out the complicated and difficult first democratic reform.

When it organized the agricultural co-operatives, the Party also based itself on the specific realities of our countryside and firmly relied on the strength of the masses. When we began to organize agricultural co-operatives tentatively and in a gradual way, we sincerely discussed it with the masses and mobilized their strength. By so doing, we could also successfully complete the difficult task of the agricultural co-operative movement within a short period of time.

The same is true in working out plans. Only by going among the masses, consulting with them and making a detailed study of the realities is it possible to draw up realistic and dynamic plans and successfully carry them out.

An iron rule in all our work should be to go among the masses and delve into reality. This is one of the most important traits necessary for those who work in a revolutionary way.

However, you have not gone among the masses nor have you approached realities, which is a big defect in your style of work. You give all the work to the lower units in a subjective way without going among the masses or knowing reality. This is sheer bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy and subjectivism always go hand in hand. One who works in a subjective and bureaucratic way is liable to commit errors and is bound to meet failure in his work because he is ignorant of the desires of the masses and the realities.

I know all of you make field trips now, because our Party demands that all our leading functionaries approach reality as called for by the Chongsan-*ri* method. Yet, though you go out to different places of work, you neither talk with the masses nor study their realities. You merely move about like a taskmaster without any purpose. This is not an attitude of going among the masses and delving into realities. If you do this, you cannot get yourselves acquainted with the land, machines and people nor can you mobilize the masses and solve problems

arising on the spot. Field trips, therefore, do not necessarily represent on-the-spot guidance.

Going among the masses in the true sense means consulting with them about all work, teaching them, learning from them, raising the laggards to the level of those who are advanced and organizing and mobilizing all their forces to carry out revolutionary tasks. Approaching reality in the true sense of the word means seeing personally, with your own eyes, all the means of production, such as land, farm machines, draught animals, fertilizers and seeds, making concrete calculations, laying down a correct policy to suit actual conditions and untying knotty problems right on the spot.

However, you just remain seated at your desks or, when you do go out to the work sites, you merely walk around without talking to the masses and studying reality. If you do this, you can neither map out a correct plan nor find the proper way of pushing the work ahead. One who confines himself to his office instead of going out to the scenes of work where real struggle is going on or one who merely travels without talking to the struggling masses, is a person who lacks enthusiasm to make the revolution and has no business being a leader. Even when a factory is brand-new, we immediately go out to see it, not because we do not believe in the personnel concerned but because we can get a deep understanding of everything only by seeing it directly with our own eyes and by talking with the masses. Only on this basis, can we formulate a correct policy.

Leading functionaries should always go among the masses to tap their strength and wisdom, make a concrete study of the realities, calculate everything scrupulously, and learn to turn all reserves and possibilities to account. Only then can we say that they have acquired the traits of a revolutionary capable of promoting revolutionary work.

Third, the communist traits of leading officials as revolutionaries are manifested in the fact that they are always at the head of the masses in all undertakings and set examples for them.

We live, working and studying. Those in leadership should always be a model for the masses in all aspects of work, study and life.

Unless the cadres themselves set an example for everyone else, they cannot make a strong demand upon the masses. Some county Party committee chairmen frequently find fault with the work style of their subordinates while they themselves do not follow the Chongsan-*ri* method in their work. This is not the way to educate their subordinates.

The behaviour of cadres should be like that of parents at home. If father and mother behave in an exemplary way at home, their children, too, will conduct themselves well, following their parents' example. If parents conduct themselves badly, their children will naturally follow suit. Similarly, the examples set by our leadership functionaries will greatly influence their subordinates' work.

So, it is of utmost importance for those in leadership to be models and personally set an example always and in everything. To set an example personally means to act in a model way.

In the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army the cadres used to set examples personally in everything. When fighting the enemy, the commanders always took the lead in assaults and brought up the rear in retreats. When a company retreated, the company commander ordered a platoon leader to lead the unit in some direction, and then he and the deputy company commander for political affairs took up position in the rear, beating off the pursuing enemy. This was an iron rule in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

The commanders of our Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army were always the first to face danger and assume difficult tasks. Revolutionary work is in itself arduous and dangerous work. The noble character of revolutionaries finds its expression precisely in this self-sacrificing and courageous struggle in the face of danger. Only those who personally set an example in difficult and dangerous work can become excellent commanders trusted by the masses.

In military training, too, the commanders of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army set an example by firing first and letting the men shoot later. The commanders could thus furnish an example because of their good marksmanship acquired by working harder than the ordinary guerrillas.

In an agricultural co-operative, too, our management cadres should take the lead in all work. When transplanting rice-seedlings, the chairman of the management board should be the first to go into the paddyfield to see if it is good for bedding them out and should personally plant them. Only then will the masses readily answer his call, "Let's all go out to work. The time has come to plant rice-seedlings." Only when a functionary works in this way can we call him a revolutionary loyal to the people, and not a bureaucrat.

Some leading functionaries try to make revolution in word only without setting an example themselves. You should carry on revolution by actual deeds, not by words. Old as we are now, we endeavour to set an example personally; but if young people drag behind the rest, how can they make revolution? The young should have a stronger spirit to set an example before anyone else.

Leading officials should take initiative in setting an example both in study and in learning techniques. Some comrades urge only their subordinates to study while they themselves do not do so. This is not correct.

Leading functionaries should also be a model in their daily life. Those who lead the masses should be ahead of others and set examples for them in the economization of materials, in hygienic and cultural work and in the struggle to establish a sound way of life.

Some comrades criticize others for drinking while they themselves continue to drink. If they do this, their subordinates will not pay attention to them. To criticize others for their immorality and idleness, one must lead a steady life himself.

When we say that our leading functionaries should be ahead of the masses in labour, we do not mean that they should work the same way the masses do. The management person-

nel of an agricultural co-operative must do the work of management and guidance well; they should not be mere co-operative members. At present, the number of man-days to be put in obligatorily by the management staffs of the agricultural co-operatives have been set at a proper rate.

Some management staffs of the agricultural co-operatives, however, do not participate in obligatory labour as prescribed. Management personnel should not make visits merely to give guidance while avoiding obligatory labour. Management staffs should participate in work both to set an example for the co-operative members and to personally experience the heavy work of the peasants and acquaint themselves with their hardships. Only by participating in this work will the management staffs keenly feel the need of freeing the peasants from heavy labour as soon as possible, and, accordingly, make more positive efforts for the technical revolution.

Only when our leading functionaries set an example in all aspects of labour, study and life in this way, will they earn the great confidence of the masses and be able to mobilize them to successfully carry out revolutionary tasks.

Fourth, the communist traits of a revolutionary should be manifested in an indomitable fighting spirit, struggling courageously without yielding to any difficulties, until victory is definitely won.

We will encounter difficulties in the course of our revolutionary activities. If everything goes smoothly, no one will complain that the revolution is difficult, and consequently it will not be so difficult to build a communist society, the ideal of all people. But those who are engaged in the revolution must not think that their aim can be attained so easily.

Leading officials should always foresee the difficulties that may arise in their work; they should prepare themselves ideologically to surmount these difficulties and should learn to bravely cut their way through whatever obstacles they may come across. When confronted by greater difficulties, the leadership cadres should show even more courage and should lead the masses with a sky-high spirit.

When a difficult situation is encountered in battle, every combatant turns to look at the face of his commander. If the latter shows signs of confusion at this juncture, failing to act to pull the men through the difficulties, the men will lose courage and waver. But, if the commander, not wavering in the least, shows firm determination and confidence in crushing the enemy, the combatants will unite firmly and fight more valiantly.

The temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War was a grim trial for our people. But our Party did not lose confidence in victory. Even in this difficult situation, our army and people kept up a brave struggle, confident in victory, because the Party led the people without hesitation. This made it possible for our People's Army, in co-ordination with the Chinese People's Volunteers, to immediately launch a counterattack against the enemy and make another victorious advance.

In some areas, however, many people fell victim to the enemy because the leadership cadres, flustered at the enemy offensive, failed to take measures to tide over the difficulties.

At that time our Party informed the entire people beforehand, over the radio, that though we were making a temporary retreat it would not be long before we would retake the offensive. The Party also gave exhaustive and concrete orientation concerning the retreat to the local cadres. Some functionaries, however, did not follow the Party's instructions and took flight; they were later captured and killed by the enemy

When the difficulties appeared, the leadership cadres should not have run away; they should have mobilized and organized the Party-cell chairmen and other core Party members and the people in general into ranks capable of fighting the enemy. If they had formed groups of 10 or more persons in each district during the retreat and had gone to the mountains, taking with them one or two *mal* of rice, a pot and an axe each, and had fought side by side with the retreating People's Army, everything would have gone well with them. If they did not know how to fight, they should have left off fighting, going about in

the mountains and waited for the People's Army to advance again.

The revolutionaries waged guerrilla warfare for 15 to 20 long years, moving about in the mountains, but they, unable to endure this life for mere 40 days, returned home only to be caught and killed by the wretched hounds of the "peace maintenance corps." These were regrettable incidents. Of course, many comrades shouted: "Long live the Party and the Government of the Republic!" when they died, and did not forsake their revolutionary principle. However, their deaths were unjustifiable because they could have survived. Their deaths were entirely due to the lack of revolutionary traits on the part of our leadership cadres.

In the course of our revolution there will be many turns and twists. Only those who keep up a courageous struggle, stopping at nothing along the road of the complex and arduous revolution can finally emerge victorious. We never shed tears nor were driven to despair by difficulties, although we cried when comrades who had fought by our side during the prolonged anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle fell. One who shows confusion or despairs because of difficulties cannot become a revolutionary. The more difficult the situation is, the more courage you should have and the more calmly you should work out a line of struggle.

The management staff of agricultural co-operative are cadres who have great responsibility in our countryside. It is of great importance that you all acquire a revolutionary spirit to brave difficulties in order to bring about a steady rise in agricultural production and to fortify revolutionary positions in the countryside.

Whatever difficulties may crop up, the management staffs of our agricultural co-operatives must not waver but take actions to overcome them through sincere discussion with the co-operative members. There will be no insurmountable difficulties if a correct line of struggle is mapped out and the management personnel show courage and give leadership by example to the co-operative members.

Fifth, an important manifestation of the communist traits of leadership functionaries as revolutionaries is that they always check their work and review it promptly. Only those functionaries who regularly review their work can become disciplined and methodical persons and always work with a fresh spirit.

Those who are engaged in the revolution should review and sum up their work every day; they can do so either before going to bed or during meals. Have I done all the work I should have done today? What haven't I done that should have been done, and why? Did I do anything wrong in today's work? Have I committed an impropriety in speech? Have I overdone anything? This is the way one should review one's work every day, every week and every month. Thus, one should acquire the spirit of boldly rectifying all shortcomings revealed and continuously developing one's strong points.

This kind of review can be made either by oneself or collectively at a meeting.

This meeting we are now holding is also aimed, in the last analysis, at correctly finding out the strong and weak points in our work and improving this work in the future. The management staffs of agricultural co-operatives, therefore, ought to have correctly picked out the merits and shortcomings in their own work and should have discussed them at this meeting.

Quite a few comrades, however, are not aware of the strong and weak points in their own work because they have not yet established the revolutionary habit of making a day-to-day review of their work. This means that many comrades still have a poor sense of responsibility for their work and lack the revolutionary zeal to improve it. To remain true to the revolution, we must acquire the habit of analysing our work regularly.

This, in general, is the revolutionary traits in work. All of you should have a sense of honour and responsibility for your work and make sincere efforts to acquire the communist traits required of a revolutionary.

2. ON IMPROVING THE GUIDANCE OF AGRICULTURE

Now I am going to speak about the work of guiding our agriculture.

Since I have already referred to the important problems raised in relation to guiding agriculture at another meeting, I will touch only upon some of these problems comprehensively at this meeting today.

First of all, the level of planning should be raised in the provincial people's committees, the city and county agricultural co-operative management committees and the agricultural co-operatives.

Planning is still poor in the management of our rural economy. At present the rate of utilization of land and machines is low and labour is not organized rationally; these are defects resulting mainly from poor planning. That is why great emphasis was laid on raising the level of planning at the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

A plan must correspond to reality. If we draw up plans according to our subjective desires, disregarding realities, they will not work. We should first go into the realities and acquire a concrete knowledge of land, machines, draught animals, manpower and so forth, making a detailed calculation of all possibilities and, on this basis, formulate the plan.

Only this kind of plan can be a realistic one, capable of being carried out. It is a passive attitude to calculate only the previous year's results, saying that these are our real possibilities. Our realities change constantly and our productive forces grow year after year. Therefore, it is necessary to draw up positive plans by calculating all reserves and possibilities commensurate with the developing realities and productive forces. Only then will our plan not only be realistic, but also be able to play an active role.

Another important thing is to administer the land well.

The basic means of production in agriculture is land. Land is a prerequisite for mechanization and irrigation; without it machines and water will serve no purpose, however abundant they may be.

Our land is a precious asset of our people for their livelihood, an asset inherited from their ancestors. We have no other land than our 3,000 *ri*. We must turn this land to better account by administering and improving it properly. If we make the best use of our land, the entire Korean people can lead as affluent a life as we wish.

However, there still exist many practices by which land is used ineffectively or left idle. In some areas, houses and factories are built at random on the plains. According to the data collected by the departments concerned, Yonan County wasted 57 *chongbo* of land in 122 cases and Paechon County, 73 *chongbo* in 343 cases. In Ongjin County as much as 6,800 *pyong* of fertile land has been set aside allegedly to build a rice and flour mill, but it still lies idle with no construction work going on.

It is a common practice now to let the edges of the fields lie idle.

It is a very serious matter that such a practice still exists despite the fact that the Party has long since launched the slogan, "Let us not leave even an inch of land uncultivated!" We should immediately correct this defect.

Land should be positively improved, while eliminating its wastage. The county agricultural co-operative management committees should make an analysis of soil fertility and the composition of each layer. The agricultural co-operatives should have side and cross-sectional views of each plot of land and make models of the layers of each plot so that it can be observed directly in its natural state. And they should have a table of soil analysis for each plot of land. Projected land improvement should be carried out on the basis of these scientific data.

Efficient land improvement will put an end to sterile land. We have a time-honoured maxim that there is no bad land for

a good peasant, and this should be an important principle for our peasants today. It is necessary to remove moisture from the wet land by digging ditches, and to raise the humidity of dry land by irrigating it. Slacked lime should be applied to improve highly acid soil, and sterile land should be made fertile by abundant manuring and the spreading of new soil.

In addition, the work of readjustment of the fields should be done properly. A good readjustment of fields furnishes favourable conditions for mechanization and makes it possible to utilize the land more effectively. At present we do not farm on small plots as we did in the days of private peasant economy. Since all the rural economy has been co-operativized, we can readjust the divisions between fields as much as we want to by removing unnecessary ridges between paddyfields and between dry fields, thereby increasing the utilization rate of land remarkably.

Land development work should also be undertaken in those areas which have extra manpower, machines and so forth, simultaneously with both land improvement and land readjustment. But on the Ryongyon Farm and in some other areas, land has not been reclaimed though it could be done. This is incorrect. You should develop land wherever possible, after making a concrete calculation of the specific conditions of your province, county and agricultural co-operative.

Next in importance is to conserve the land well. To conserve land it is necessary to improve our rivers properly. Because you have not done so, much valuable land is washed away during every rainy season.

Stone walls and embankments should be built and ditches properly adjusted where needed to prevent the loss of even an inch of land.

In the rural economy irrigation should be stepped up. We have by now carried out a great deal of irrigation work for agriculture, but even with that, it still represents no more than the major portion of the total. We must complete our irrigation work by pushing it ahead more actively.

The principal defect in the irrigation work of South Hwang-

hae Province in the last period was to have started too many projects. One who begins projects and does not know how to finish them cannot be called a competent functionary. By nature, a revolutionary does not spread himself thin, but organizes the work according to his capabilities and finishes one thing at a time.

Whatever you do, you should finish projects one by one. Communists should do this when they fight the enemy and when they struggle with nature.

Last year alone, however, you started as many as 189 projects without correctly reckoning your own ability. As a result, 128 projects still remain unfinished. It is said that at present the irrigation system covers 183,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and dry fields in South Hwanghae Province as a whole, but the actual figure is no more than 122,000 *chongbo*, because you have also counted the unfinished projects. You should not disperse your resources in an attempt to complete the 128 unfinished projects at the same time, but concentrate them on a few projects and, when these are completed, finish the rest, one by one.

It is very important to manage well and to effectively use our existing irrigation facilities, as it is also important to build new ones. At present, however, a big defect is that our existing irrigation facilities are not repaired or improved properly and the river-dykes are not well protected. In some areas not only are irrigation facilities in disrepair, but even the turf that covered the river-dykes has been dug up and carted away in order, they say, to carpet the fields with new soil. This grave error would not have taken place if our leading agricultural functionaries had paid some attention to the administration of the irrigation facilities. They should pay great attention to the improvement and repair of our irrigation facilities and to a better utilization of them.

Furthermore, the work of water control should be conducted well. Water control holds a very important place in the organization of production in the rural economy. Nevertheless, you have failed to conduct water control properly. While crops

do not grow well for lack of water in one place, water is wasted in another place. It is necessary to take thoroughgoing measures against the wasting of water, to constantly explore water sources and establish the principle of using the same water more than once.

Next, the mechanization of agriculture should be stepped up more vigorously. To raise the level of agricultural mechanization, it is necessary, first of all, to increase the number of tractors and trucks. It is impossible to supply more than 200 tractors and trucks to South Hwanghae Province before the ploughing season this year, but it will be provided with more tractors and trucks in the second half of the year to ensure good farming next year.

It is of no use to simply have a large number of farm machines. What is important is to raise their operation rate and utilize them more effectively. In South Hwanghae Province the operation rate of tractors was no more than 73 per cent last year. This means that an average of 270 tractors stood idle every day in the province. This is the same as saying that the farm machine stations of three counties did no work for one year.

The operation rate of tractors should be raised radically. For this purpose, it is necessary to secure enough spare parts for three months' use and to establish a strict system of checking and repairing tractors in good time, in accordance with the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. In regard to the reserves of spare parts for tractors in South Hwanghae Province, I see that only 213 kinds of the 386 required have been secured, and no more than 22,000 pieces, or 3.8 per cent, of the required number of 582,000, are kept in store. The Ministry of Agriculture should rapidly take measures to solve this problem: the provincial Party committee, too, should direct its concern to this matter.

The farm-machine repair stations should improve the repair and maintenance of tractors so that ploughing can be ensured on time. Production of various kinds of trailer machines should be increased, in order to raise the utilization rate of our tractors.

Machines should be used to plant and weed; some rice fields should be harvested with the help of machines and thrashing should also be mechanized. Although it is impossible to mechanize the planting of all dry field crops this year, you should now make definite preparations for doing so next year. *Only by increasing the mechanization of agriculture is it possible* to relieve the peasants from heavy work and guarantee an all-round development of agricultural production by transferring the labour force released through mechanization to those branches where mechanization has not yet been introduced.

Along with up-to-date farm machines, animal-drawn farm machines and all types of medium and small farm implements should be used effectively. In our country, farming cannot be done with large-sized machines alone because intensive methods are employed in farming and, especially because there are many slopes and rice paddies. There is no other way but to use medium- and small-sized farm implements in the mountainous areas until farm machines suitable for mountain slopes are manufactured in the future. With rice-transplanting still not mechanized and with inter-cropping and mixed cropping widespread, we must use animal-drawn weeders and other medium *and small farm implements. Oxcarts should also* be used widely for cartage until the problem of fuel is solved completely.

It is therefore wrong to abandon oxcarts and fail to provide sufficient medium and small farm implements on the pretext that the number of tractors and trucks is increasing. It is said that in certain places oxcarts are not purchased because more trucks and tractors are being supplied This is a gross mistake. In Chaeryong County, each agricultural co-operative has only seven oxcarts but an average of 70 head of oxen. This means only one cart for every ten oxen. Sohae-*ri* in Ongjin County has 88 head of oxen, but only 33 oxcarts and 23 cultivators. The amount of farm implements secured by workteam No 6 of Obong-*ri*, Kangryong County, covered only 24 per cent of their *needs in oxcarts, 29 per cent in manure-forks and 41 per cent in* rakes.

The following table shows the result of an investigation of the farm implements in possession of workteam No. 15 of Sowon-*ri*, Pyoksong County:

Farm implements	Number needed	Number secured	Broken	Fit to use	Remarks
Hori ploughs	8	6	4	2	
Harrows	9	9	6	3	
Manual weeders	21	21	3	18	
Improved small hoes	25	19	18	1	
Rakes	48	39	23	16	
Hoes	28	16	12	4	
Cultivators	2	—	—	—	

These examples of a few agricultural co-operatives show that medium and small farm implements are very much neglected. This is a very serious mistake. The need for securing an adequate number of medium and small farm implements was already pointed out in strong terms in the course of our guidance of Chongsan-*ri* in 1960. However, it seems that the Chongsan-*ri* spirit has been clean forgotten today, two years later.

Without medium and small farm implements, we cannot farm. You should take into consideration more adequately the actual conditions of our country. If you think it still necessary to use draught animals and medium and small farm implements you should not rely on large farm machines alone, but should naturally see to it that medium and small ones are available.

One of the important tasks in the management of the rural economy is to create a source of manure. At present, this work has been very inadequate in our agricultural co-operatives. Good land and good machines alone are not enough to bring about high yields. True, they are necessary for good farming,

but it is also important to have abundant fertilizer, which will make even poor land yield a rich harvest. Therefore, a more active struggle should be waged to secure sources of manure.

It is necessary, above all, to make energetic endeavours to see that there is no peasant household without livestock. Therefore, we should launch a campaign for every peasant household to raise two hogs. Hog raising is very important not only for producing meat but also as a source of manure.

It is also of great importance in increasing the peasants' income. If a pig is worth 100 *won* on an average, two pigs will be worth 200 *won*. This is a big income. If fabrics cost three *won* a metre, 200 *won* is enough to buy over 60 metres.

At present, however, the efforts have been unsatisfactory in South Hwanghae Province to see that there is no peasant household without livestock. The ratio of stockless peasant households is 24 per cent in the city of Haeju, 31 per cent in Pyoksong County, 41 per cent in Kangryong County, 36 per cent in Ongjin County, 22 per cent in Taetan County, 18 per cent in Changyon County, 42 per cent in Unryul County, 46 per cent in Unchon County, 49 per cent in Anak County, 40 per cent in Paechon County, 30 per cent in Yonan County and 41 per cent in Chongdan County. Of course, these percentages in themselves do not tell the whole story. It is impossible to ascertain from these figures whether peasant families have one or two hogs each.

At any rate, the existence of a large number of farm households without domestic animals means that you still have not made earnest efforts to produce manure. Our experience shows that 20 tons of manure can be obtained a year by mixing the dung of one pig with slacked lime or soil. Therefore, each farm household can produce as much as 40 tons of organic mineral fertilizer if it raises two hogs for the whole year. This is a big figure. We should let this fact known widely among our peasants and popularize these edifying experiences. We should see to it that there are no stockless peasant households in the near future.

Furthermore, in order to secure a source of manure in the

plains, peat should be rotted and used as manure even though it is also important to use it as fuel. Straw should not be used for other purposes but should be allowed to decompose and spread over the paddyfields. For more straw to be used as manure, we should make as fewer straw sacks as possible and build more tile-roofed houses so that straw may not be used for roofs. We should solve the fuel problem in order to prevent straw from being used as fuel. For this, it would be a good idea to set up firewood and coal stations, peat and coal mining stations in the local areas. Peat mining should be further developed and firewood or coal should be supplied by the state to the areas far from the mountains.

To produce plenty of manure, grass should be mown in large quantities. A vigorous grass-mowing drive should be launched in the summer, particularly in the mountain areas. We could apply large quantities of manure in South Pyongan Province last year because much grass was cut in the summer. Yet, in the summer when the grass is long, you do not do anything with it, but when winter sets in you proceed to cut grass, so it is only natural that things do not go well.

I think we should stop collecting silt and humus soil for the time being. Their sources have been exhausted because the river beds have been scraped for three years. It would be good to allow some time for them to corrode and only then begin gathering them again.

The province and the counties should always have a correct understanding of the state of manure production and control this sector. The management board chairmen who neglect grass mowing should be criticized and a positive effort should be made to publicize the examples of co-operative members who have been active in manure production.

Last year we criticized the functionaries in South Pyongan Province for their poor work in grass mowing. After the criticism their work improved. As I always say, criticism is like getting a person to wash his own face. When a child will not wash his face, his parents should do it for him even if he is unwilling.

When we made the functionaries of South Pyongan Province wash their faces last year, we thought that those in South Hwanghae Province would also be encouraged to wash their faces, but they were not. As a result, no improvement was made in that province, while things went well in South Pyongan Province. This year we have given advice in advance, so you should willingly and energetically push ahead with the work of grass cutting.

Manure production, too, will be successful if you work as persistently as Comrades Chon Pil Nyo and Li Sin Ja. There must be activists like them in every co-operative. There is no reason why there should not be such persons among hundreds and thousands of co-operative members. If the management personnel work well with the people, they will be able to ferret out these comrades. When the example of these activists is popularized, a great increase will definitely take place in manure production, too.

Chemical fertilizer should be used more effectively while manure is turned out in large quantities. At present, our country ranks rather high among the socialist countries in the amount of chemical fertilizer it applies. But although we apply a large amount of chemical fertilizer, our results are not as high as those of other countries Now that the county agricultural co-operative management committee has been organized, soil analysis and technical guidance should be conducted properly to make effective use of chemical fertilizer.

Furthermore, it is necessary to intensify our control over the consumption of electric power in the countryside.

Still now, there is not enough stress being put on the problem of economizing electric power in the field of agriculture, though this problem is being seriously discussed in the sphere of industry. Many agricultural co-operatives are still using 20-h.p. pumping machines where 10-h.p pumps will serve the purpose. Though electric power equivalent to 10 h.p is being wasted here, no one is feeling sorry for it. This is probably because there is no person responsible for the administration and control of electric power consumption in the countryside.

You keep on asking now for more high-voltage cables while at the same time you waste much electric power. Indeed, high-voltage cables should be laid in order to step up electrification on an extensive scale in the future. But under the present conditions it is not necessary. We should launch a vigorous campaign to make effective use of the existing transformers and electric motors and economize electric power. The county agricultural co-operative management committees should make a general examination of the use of power for our irrigation facilities and for farm machines, including thrashers, and strengthen control over power expenditure.

A mass drive should be launched to produce power locally by installing small dynamos wherever there is flowing water, in accordance with the decision of last year's December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

To proceed, our seed improvement work should also be stepped up.

Seed improvement is of great importance in raising the per-*chongbo* yield of grain. I have also heard, during my present visit to South Hwanghae Province, that improved seeds increase per-*chongbo* output markedly. With seed improvement plus proper introduction of cold-frame rice seedlings, grain output can be raised quite easily by several per cent. In order to strengthen the seed improvement work it is necessary to choose suitable places and carry on the work of seed production correctly.

Effective labour management is of great importance in running the rural economy. Labour management is one of the important tasks of the county agricultural co-operative management committee. The agricultural co-operatives should, first of all, organize and utilize the manpower of each workteam in a rational way. Each workteam should correctly understand the objectives of work and allocate its labour force accordingly. The physical strength of people, their sex, skills, etc., should be taken into account in the allocation of manpower. Men's jobs should not be assigned to women and vice versa. More often than not men loiter about with notebooks under their arms

with the excuse of being some sort of "leader" and hard jobs are assigned to women; a resolute struggle should be waged against this practice.

At the same time, we should continue to fight against the practice whereby some agricultural co-operatives disperse their labour force instead of concentrating their strength on farming. According to reports, there are still as many as 70 to 80 working people assigned to the stockbreeding team at a certain agricultural co-operative. At this rate, there can be no good results in farming. This is what happened before. Passing through Chongdan County, when rice-transplanting was at its height, I found there was such a shortage of labour that people were overworked on one hand, while, on the other, as many as 27 persons were engaged in tile-making. While always complaining to the centre about the labour shortage, you are still misusing labour in this way. Since farming is seasonal work which cannot be postponed, a more determined struggle should be waged against the practice of dispersing our labour force.

Management personnel should be barred from transferring the rural labour force at their discretion. No one is allowed, as in the case of the state labour force, to freely transfer the manpower of the agricultural co-operatives, once it is allocated. The chairman of a co-operative has no right to transfer the manpower of the workteams as he likes. If the manpower of a workteam is divided and diverted to different work, that workteam cannot do the job assigned to it. The co-operatives, therefore, should allocate manpower to the workteams after a careful examination and, once they have been allocated, should not move them to other jobs.

The labour force of the agricultural co-operatives should not be mobilized for construction or any other work. It will be possible to carry on housing construction in the countryside with the labour force of the rural construction corps in the future. Neither should the manpower of the workteam be used for non-farming tasks. The manpower section of the county agricultural co-operative management committee should as-

sume responsibility for this matter and strengthen its control over it.

Another important thing in labour management is to establish strict labour administrative discipline at the agricultural co-operatives. It is necessary, first of all, to properly conduct the work of fixing work norms. Only then can the socialist principle of distribution be strictly observed. Each agricultural co-operative should correctly fix work norms and establish rigid discipline in putting them into practice.

Furthermore, the democratic principle of management should be thoroughly observed at the agricultural co-operatives. The management board of an agricultural co-operative should inform the co-operative members of all matters and hold discussions with them. All the co-operative members should be informed of the monthly outlay of funds and seeds, and all the problems arising in running the co-operative must be dealt with according to democratic principles of management. The county agricultural co-operative management committee should exercise control over each agricultural co-operative so that it will strictly abide by these principles.

The agricultural co-operative management board should not keep possession of any grain, except seed and fodder grain. It must not dispose of even a gramme of rice at will. A co-operative chairman is authorized to direct farming, but he has no right to dispose of rice at his discretion. The general meeting of the co-operative membership alone has the right to dispose of rice.

The peasants now produce grain and set aside what they need for provisions, and they are willing to sell the remainder to the state. However, there have been many cases of management personnel who have intervened and disposed of the grain at will, without delivering it to the state or distributing it to the co-operative members. We should wage a relentless struggle against this practice. Co-operative members should set aside grain for food and sell the remainder to the state.

At the agricultural co-operatives, an end must be put to the practice of putting grain under the heading of seed grain, not

delivering it to the state, and disposing of it illicitly. It seems advisable to establish in the future a system under which the state will select good seeds, sterilize and store them and then distribute them. The Party organizations and the leading workers in agriculture should exercise rigid control over the management boards of agricultural co-operatives to prevent them from freely disposing of grain.

The provincial people's committee and the county agricultural co-operative management committees should direct all their efforts to farming. Since the county agricultural co-operative management committees are starting their work from scratch, it is necessary for them to establish the work style of going out and giving on-the-spot guidance right from the start. Because agriculture is also a technical process, the county agricultural co-operative management committees should give technical guidance to the farm work of the co-operative and provide responsible guidance in all processes of production.

The immediate task now confronting the workers in the field of agriculture is to concentrate all forces of the co-operatives on preparations for farming, such as spreading new soil over the fields, carting out manure, selecting seeds, preparing rice-seedling beds and repairing tractors and farm machines. At the same time, all available forces in the province should be mobilized to help farm work. In the summer, government employees and local industrial workers in the province should also be mobilized for farm work.

The Party organizations and the leading workers in agriculture in South Hwanghae Province should consolidate the successes they have already made and help the backward agricultural co-operatives, thereby raising all the co-operatives to the level of the advanced ones as soon as possible Thus, victory should be won in the movement for the creation of "100,000-ton counties," "70,000-ton counties," "50,000-ton counties," and "30,000-ton counties" in grain production.

Yonan County has been striving to become a "100,000-ton county" for three years now; it should attain this goal without

fail this year. Paechon County, too, should energetically strive to win the honour of a "100,000-ton county" this year.

Comrades, today almost all the peasants in South Hwanghae Province eat rice. Factory and office workers, however, still eat rice and corn meal—half and half—for their meals. We are going to make sure that everyone can live on rice in the next few years. Therefore, we must increase the per-*chongbo* yields in the existing rice paddies and also plant more dry land rice for next year by securing a sufficient amount of seed this year. Only when we produce more rice so that all people live on it, will we be able to say that our living standards are high.

In conclusion, I would like to express my confidence that all Party members, co-operative members, Democratic Youth League members, tractor drivers, technicians in the countryside and all the management personnel of the agricultural co-operatives in the province will successfully fulfil the tasks confronting the rural economy in South Hwanghae Province this year and contribute greatly to the development of agriculture in our country and improvement of the people's living standards by waging a devoted struggle to carry out our Party's agricultural policy.

ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY

Concluding Speech at the Third Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
March 8, 1962

1. ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK

At this plenary meeting we have had serious discussions about further strengthening Party work. We held many meetings and organized many short courses on this question.

Party work was one of the important questions dealt with at the Party Congress also. In the Fourth Party Congress document, we made an overall analysis and review of the achievements and experience in our Party work and clearly set forth the basic orientation and tasks for this work. We have accumulated a wealth of priceless experience in our Party work, which has attained a high level of development.

But we cannot rest on our laurels We are now facing vast and difficult revolutionary tasks. Further improvement and strengthening of Party work to fit this situation is an urgent problem for us. In particular, during the recent intensive guidance given by the Central Committee of the Party to the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee, we discovered a host of shortcomings still to be corrected in Party work.

Since you have made a detailed analysis of the important questions relating to Party work in the report and speeches of this plenary meeting, I should like to reemphasize only some of the essential questions.

As I have repeatedly pointed out, when we speak of Party work we mean to firmly build up and consolidate the Party, promote its steady growth and development, and correctly mobilize its organizations so that it may fully perform its militant functions as a Marxist-Leninist Party. In a word, Party work means to build up strong Party ranks and to guarantee the full exercise of the militant functions of the Party.

As Lenin and Stalin correctly defined it, a Marxist-Leninist Party is the advanced and organized detachment of the working class.

The working class vitally needs its vanguard detachment to lead and guide all the labouring classes in the fierce class struggle against the exploiting classes. Therefore, best elements of the working class, with a strong revolutionary spirit, a rich fighting experience and a high theoretical level, organize a fighting detachment to lead the class struggle and wage it more successfully. This detachment is the Party. If this vanguard detachment of the working class is to maintain its unity of thought, will and action and win the struggle against the enemy, all its members must be thoroughly organized on the basis of a single principle. This is why Lenin, when defining the organizational principles of the Party, stressed that everyone in the Party, no matter who he is, must be a member of a Party organization and must fulfil his duty as a Party member.

The Party is an organization made up of those from the frontranks of the working class. Therefore, if the Party is to be sound, each and every one of those composing it must be sound, and it is essential for all the Party members to act in accordance with the Party's organizational principles. The Party will become powerful and invincible and able to successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks confronting it when all its members become fully active in accordance with its organizational principles. Therefore we can say that the main facet of

Party work lies, above all, in leading the Party members so that they will be faithful to Party organizational life.

As you well know, a Party member must accept the Party Programme and Rules when joining a Party organization. Anyone desiring to join our Party can be admitted only after taking an oath that he will fulfil without fail, according to the Party Programme and Rules, the fighting tasks the Party organization assigns him The Party member belongs to the Party organization from the very day of admission and is requred to fulfil the tasks it gives him.

The Party member's organizational life begins the moment he joins the Party organization. Organizational life in the Party means the Party members' activities in fulfilling the assignments the Party gives them It means the political life and revolutionary activities of the Party members. We always say that we should acquire the traits required of a revolutionary; and a revolutionary is not any special type. If a Party member, abiding by the Party Rules, efficiently carries out the revolutionary tasks the Party assigns, we can say he has fulfilled the duties of a revolutionary.

Our Party Rules clearly state the revolutionary tasks incumbent on the Party members. It would be a good idea for you to go through our Party Rules again and see what they say about the Party member's duties Our Party Rules define them as follows:

"a) A Party member shall actively fight for the reunification of our country and the construction of socialism and communism, and firmly defend our socialist homeland;

"b) A Party member shall profoundly study and grasp the Party's revolutionary traditions, carry them forward and develop them, firmly arm himself with our Party's ideology, rally closely around the Party Central Committee and firmly defend it, fight resolutely against factionalism, parochialism and nepotism and safeguard Party unity and solidarity;

"c) A Party member shall be boundlessly loyal to the Party, unconditionally accept and thoroughly defend the Party line and its policies and correctly carry them out...."

Besides, the Party Rules present all the standards that a Party member must invariably observe, namely, to raise his political level, improve his practical ability and arm himself with Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen his ties with the masses, to be an example to them, to constantly temper his Party spirit, place the interests of the Party above his personal interests, and so forth.

Thus, the Party Rules clearly set forth how and for what revolutionary tasks a Party member should fight. Therefore, if a Party member wants to know how to wage struggles, he must study the Party Rules. If he simply carries out in a scrupulous manner all the tasks stipulated in the Party Rules, he will be a fine revolutionary.

If all Party members fulfil their duties clarified in the Rules, the Party can become a most powerful and revolutionary party and make great successes in carrying out the revolutionary tasks.

Therefore, the most important thing in Party work is to lead the Party members to live their Party life in accordance with the Party Rules. There is nothing mysterious about this. Everything will run smoothly if Party members are induced to act according to the Party Rules.

A Party member develops his Party life within the Party organization. All Party members, without exception, belong to cells, the basic organizations of the Party, where they have their Party organizational life; some of them concurrently belong to Party committees and develop part of their Party organizational life there. A member of a *ri* Party committee, for example, has his organizational life in the cell or sub-cell to which he belongs and, at the same time, also receives definite assignments from the *ri* Party committee and has an organizational life there. Therefore, it is important to properly encourage the activities of the cells to which all the Party members belong and the Party committees to which some of them concurrently belong in order to guarantee a proper Party organizational life for the Party members.

We can say that inner-Party work boils down, after all, to

work with the Party members, cadres, and the Party cells and committees. When the Party cells and committees are all properly composed, when they all carry out their Party functions to the fullest and when all the Party members become fully active, the whole Party will become strong and the Party will be able to successfully play its vanguard role in the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks.

As you all know, our Party, as a party in power, shoulders all the responsibilities of the revolutionary work in our country and has its forces posted all over the country.

Our Party cells are organized everywhere—in factories, mines, farming and fishing villages, army units, schools, public health establishments, cultural institutions, and so forth. The Cabinet, ministries, people's committees, economic commissions and other state bodies have their own respective Party organizations—the Party committees and cells. Where there are the masses, there are Party members, and where there are Party members, Party organizations always exist.

It is therefore obvious that when the Party cells and Party committees satisfactorily function everywhere the Party members and the masses at every post of the revolutionary front will become fully activated and will successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks the Party assigns them.

If Party cells operate efficiently in the army units, the combat power of the army will grow and the army will become proficient in battle. If Party cells work properly in the farm villages, the farmers will be more awakened and farm work will proceed successfully. If Party cells work well in the factories, the workers will increase their production zeal and the production assignments will be fulfilled successfully. If Party cells are strengthened among the writers and artists, they will produce fine works and literature and art will advance rapidly. To put it briefly, if the Party organizations work well and the Party members are fully aroused to action, Party work will go smoothly, and if Party work proves successful, everything will go smoothly.

The Party is the General Staff of the revolution. Doing

Party work well means doing the work of the General Staff of the revolution well.

Lenin said that the Party is the highest form of organization of the working class. To carry out the revolution, the working class has people's committees and other state bodies at all levels and such working people's organizations as the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union. And the Party is the highest of all these working-class organizations and the General Staff which leads and spurs all these organizations into action.

You say: "The Party is the leading force and the General Staff of our people." In this case, the term general staff never means only the Party Central Committee. All Party organizations play the role of a general staff in their respective spheres. And the Party organizations and Party members are everywhere. Therefore, if Party work is conducted efficiently, the work of the general staff will be smooth in all fields, and all Party organizations and members will be able to play their role with credit, and all the working-class organizations and the working masses will become active. Thus everything will work out well and brilliant successes will be achieved everywhere.

Now, what do we need to do Party work well?

The work of organizing and leading Party members to fulfil their duties to the Party satisfactorily is most important. If all the members of a Party cell carry out their Party assignments well, the cell will be able to play its role splendidly; if the members of a Party committee do well in fulfilling their assignments, the committee's work will be successful.

But it is by no means easy to induce Party members to carry out their duties satisfactorily.

Although the Party is an organization of advanced elements, it is made up of different kinds of people. Some have a high revolutionary consciousness while others have a rather low one, and some are more efficient while others are less efficient. And some are hot-tempered and fast to act while others are slow. Constant work with Party members is necessary to

make these diverse elements join forces and wage a successful struggle for the common goal.

Party members should frequently get together to hold meetings and criticize one another; they should help those who are lagging behind to move forward, explain things clearly to people with less knowledge, and turn lazy people into diligent ones. Doing this all Party members should guarantee a unity of thought, will and action. A Party member should report to the Party organization on his fulfilment of the tasks it has assigned him and receive new assignments, exchange experience with others and take measures to improve his work.

Who then is to take charge of such work? The cells and committees do it. They should do their organizational work to make sure that the Party members always receive and carry out Party assignments, and to give them new assignments, lead and help them to fulfil the assignments.

Thus, a Party member receives Party assignments from the Party organization, reports on the result of their fulfilment, receives new assignments and fulfils them. Precisely this constitutes his organizational life.

People who are not yet well aware of all this think that Party member's organizational life is nothing more than getting together for meetings, and that aside from that there is no organizational life This is wrong. Mere discussion meetings about work do not bring the solution to all the problems relating to Party work. A Party member can be said to have fulfilled his revolutionary tasks and acquitted himself faithfully in his organizational life only when he has taken part in the discussion of affairs at meetings, received new orientations and tasks, and carried them out. Therefore, the important thing in organizational life is the correct fulfilment of Party assignments by each Party member rather than the holding of meetings.

When Party members are meeting in conferences or when they are carrying out their assignments separately after the conferences, their Party organizational life goes on and they are under the leadership and control of the Party organization. The Party cell should supervise, guide and control every Party mem-

ber to make sure that he carries out his assignments properly from the standpoint of the Party; a Party committee should give constant leadership to its members in their work. A Party committee at a higher level should supervise the work of subordinate committees.

The Party cell looks after the activities of each Party member; the county or the factory Party committee, the activities of the Party cells; the provincial Party committee, those of the county and factory Party committees; and the Party Central Committee, those of the provincial Party committees; the Chairman and the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee are in charge of leading the whole Party and keeping it active.

Thus, the entire Party, from the Party Central Committee down to the Party members in each cell, is constantly on the move and keeps up Party work uninterruptedly.

In the final analysis, the criteria for judging whether or not Party work is conducted well can be found in how the Party organizations have been organized and whether or not the Party organizations and members work properly and carry out their Party assignments correctly.

On the basis of these criteria we find the Party work in South Hwanghae Province is not up to the mark. There, the Party committees have not been organized well, nor do they operate satisfactorily. Some Party committees have not even met regularly and, what is worse, have not even called Party meetings or summed up the results of their work for half a year or a year. In other words, the Party organizations have not functioned properly and have failed to play their militant role.

What departments are mainly responsible for the work of building up the Party and keeping it active? They are the organizational and propaganda-agitation departments, and particularly the organizational department is responsible for it. Success in Party work depends largely on the activities of the Party committee and its chairman, and particularly on the role of the organizational department of that committee. The poor results in Party work in South Hwanghae Province are attributa-

ble to the fact that there the Party committees and their chairmen have worked badly and particularly that the organizational and propaganda-agitation departments have failed to work properly. To improve the work of the Party's organizational and propaganda-agitation departments is very important in strengthening Party work.

The organizational department should give Party members constant leadership in their Party life. Otherwise, their organizational life will become lax and bad tendencies may emerge among them. Marxist dialectics tells us that everything changes. Our work also changes ceaselessly and so does people's consciousness. A person who was good yesterday may become bad today, and one who was courageous yesterday may turn into a coward today. To consider that a person who was good in the past can in no way change today is non-Marxist thinking. You should not take such an illusory view, even of the cadres.

Party members are all conscious people, but none of them can lay claim to absolute infallibility and perfection as a human being. Whoever neglects tireless self-improvement is liable to commit errors and go off course.

We are now engaged in a face-to-face struggle with U.S. imperialism. Capitalist influences can infiltrate from the outside. The U.S. imperialists are bent on vilifying communism, always threatening and exerting pressure by shouting that they will sweep away the Communists.

We also have many evil survivals of capitalism internally. Scum such as the overthrown landlords and capitalists still exist and the poisonous ideological influence they spread still persists. Outside pressures and the remaining hostile elements on the inside may join forces to bring about vacillation and give rise to conservatism and passivity, indolence and degeneration.

The air we breathe normally permits us to live in good health. But air contains dust and lots of harmful germs. If a person neglects hygiene and fails to keep himself clean at all times he may become soiled and infected with noxious germs. By taking good care of his health and actively steeling his body by

physical training, he can preserve his health without resorting to medicine.

No Party members or cadres will "fall ill" if the organizational department constantly educates and criticizes them lest they should become slack, and guides them to live their Party life along the right lines as required by the Party Rules. Giving timely criticism to a comrade going astray is like getting a comrade to wash his grimy face. If a man becomes very dirty, he may contract a disease.

An organizational department should strengthen the Party life of Party members and untiringly train them and the cadres through the practical struggle for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks, and thereby rear them to be true revolutionary fighters who wage an unyielding struggle for the Party and the revolution without vacillation no matter which way the wind may blow.

The organizational departments of the county and factory Party committees are required to study how the cells under them have been built up and how they are functioning.

Some cells are strong while others are weak. We must make the weak cells strong and thus see to it that all the cells carry out their functions satisfactorily. In the human body, for instance, if any of the cells weaken, a boil or inflammation develops there. Likewise, the Party can be sound only when its cells are strong. Therefore, the organizational departments of the county and factory Party committees should start with the work of building up the cells.

Measures should be taken for strengthening the Party cells on the basis of a clear understanding of whether the cells are composed of those who are qualified as Party members, whether they are formed by Party members who faithfully carry out their Party assignments, how many of the Party members possess a high degree of communist consciousness and strong revolutionary spirit, and whether there are nuclei who can manage the cells.

Particularly because our Party has developed rapidly into a mass political party, some of its members are still not fully

equipped with a communist consciousness and its members are at different ideological levels. It is therefore important to foster nuclei who are qualified to manage the operation of the cells The organizational departments should place Party forces in such a way that every cell has its nuclei who can lead it forward. It should continuously strive to train such nuclei.

While improving the cells' composition, the organizational departments should strive to put the life of the cells on a sound basis.

A healthy life for a cell means that it correctly fulfils its revolutionary tasks and that it satisfactorily conducts its inner work for its own consolidation. As the Party Rules also stipulate, the Party fights for the reunification of the country and for socialist construction. That is to say, the Party is carrying out revolutionary tasks. Therefore, if the life of a cell is to be sound, it is necessary first of all for the cell to carry out its revolutionary tasks properly In order to fulfil its economic tasks, it must have frequent discussions, give the Party members assignments and sum up the results of the work at the proper time. The cell is required not only to perform tasks related to economic and cultural construction but also to those of political struggle. It must likewise wage the class struggle against the reactionary classes, educate and transform the masses, and rally the masses around the Party. It follows that the organizational departments should supervise the cells in their endeavour to fulfil their economic tasks and organize their political life.

The cells must constantly strive to temper the Party spirit of the Party members and improve their level of political consciousness and practical ability. Organizational departments must ceaselessly check on the cells' conduct of criticism, ideological struggle and political education, and give them leadership

The life of a cell cannot be regarded as sound if it confines its struggle only to doing farm work well, while remaining indifferent to the struggle against the hostile classes, to expanding and consolidating Party ranks, to opposing the infiltration of reactionary ideology and to steeling the Party spirit of its mem-

bers. On the other hand, if a cell spends all its time discussing the problem of fighting against the reactionary classes, without carrying out the tasks of socialist construction, this cannot be regarded as a sound cell life either. And if a cell has neglected political study and communist education and has done little to consolidate Party ranks, although it holds many discussions on the problem of timely transplanting cold-frame rice seedlings and weeding well or the problem of isolating the landlord class and uniting the masses, this also means that its life is unsound.

The organizational departments should see to it that the cells promptly correct shortcomings and deviations manifested in their activities in order to put them on a sound basis, and should orient all the cells to carry out their revolutionary tasks, their inner-Party work and their mass work equally well without showing a bias to any one of them.

Also, the organizational departments should always study the composition and activities of the Party committees at all levels. The organizational department of a provincial Party committee should supervise the county and factory Party committees and the organizational department of a county Party committee should supervise the *ri* Party committees and the cell committees.

When the organizational department of a provincial Party committee, for instance, studies the make-up of a factory Party committee, it should ascertain whether the committee is composed of people fully capable of carrying out the factory's revolutionary tasks. It should inquire into whether the committee has cadres for ideological and technical matters, and how many people on it have a vigorous revolutionary spirit. If the committee lacks men with sufficient Party spirit and practical ability to organize and direct the implementation of the Party's policies correctly, then the committee has been badly selected.

At the same time, the organizational department should find out whether the committees are functioning properly. It should make an overall examination to ascertain how the committees have discussed their economic work, and the Party's organizational and ideological work, how they look after the

work of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and how they struggle against reactionaries.

The South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee neglected all matters other than farm work such as planting 50 per cent of the rice paddies with cold-frame rice seedlings and striving for the application of 50 tons of compost per *chongbo*. This indicates that the provincial Party committee failed to carry out its functions properly.

The successful fulfilment of a Party committee's functions cannot be confined to holding a few meetings. The Party committee should take all its revolutionary tasks in hand and function as the general staff of the revolution by organizing and mobilizing all the revolutionary forces under its jurisdiction—Party organizations, Party members, state bodies and working people's organizations—for the implementation of Party policies.

The organizational departments of the provincial and county Party committees should regularly check on whether the Party committees under them are properly built up and whether they fully perform the functions of the general staff of the revolution in their respective units, and, on this basis, should guide the committees toward improving their composition and functioning better.

The Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee and its Vice-Chairman for organizational affairs should check on whether the provincial and county Party committees are built up and functioning properly, and give leadership in consolidating the ranks of the entire Party and keeping them active at all times.

*As you see, an organizational department directs the organi*zational life of the Party members and the activities of the Party organizations such as Party committees and Party cells. An organizational department may be regarded as a personnel department that constantly replenishes and consolidates Party ranks and as a department that guides Party life with the aim of strengthening it. Precisely because the work of this department went amiss in South Hwanghae Province, many shortcomings were manifested in the general work of the Party.

There, instead of doing its own work, the organizational department takes upon itself the work of the general affairs department or the documents department, concerning itself with manpower mobilization, supply of materials, arrangement for meetings, compilation of statistics, and so forth.

The people's committee has its statistical, planning and supply departments. Why, then, should the organizational department of the Party committee undertake such jobs? Why should the head of the organizational department always make a report in person?

Engrossed as it was only in unnecessary matters instead of doing its regular work, the organizational department failed to build up the Party ranks properly and discover opportunely those comrades who were suffering from ideological maladies. As a result, some comrades became so seriously ill that medicine alone could no longer cure them, and they had to undergo surgery. The sick cadres and Party members were not bad people from the outset. They were good people, but they drifted into errors and degenerated because of the lack of timely education and constant leadership.

Some people may fall ill even when the organizational department exerts efforts to work with the Party members and cadres properly. We should take preventive measures so that people do not contract diseases, but it is no less important to discover sick persons at an early date.

An organizational department must diagnose people often to see whether or not they have contracted some serious diseases. It should diagnose the case with precision to ascertain whether it is a skin disease or a respiratory problem. Medicine should be prescribed and administered in accordance with the diagnosis.

If the Party committee chairman or its organizational department head is likened to the doctor who discovers infected persons among the Party members and diagnoses their disease, a propaganda department can be likened to the pharmacist who dispenses medicine for the sick.

If a person appeared who was frightened of capitalism, it

would be necessary to bring home to him that capitalism is destined to fall. We should instil the revolutionary spirit of the working class into those who have contracted such serious diseases as conservatism, passivity, mystification and empiricism. Vitamin A should be given to those who have this deficiency and Vitamin B to those who have that deficiency. The Marxist-Leninist classics should be prescribed for those who need to read them and our Party documents should be recommended to those who do not know our Party's policies, decisions and directives, and literary works should be prescribed for those who need them. All these are the remedies for sick Party members.

The propaganda department, like the organizational department, deals with inner-Party work.

The first and foremost duty of a propaganda department is to educate Party members.

The propaganda department should not only prescribe medicine for those who have already contracted diseases but also supply prophylaxis and tonics so that the Party members do not become contaminated with bad ideas, and actively fulfil their revolutionary tasks at all times.

In political education, the Party's policies are also a tonic. Party members will be immune to bad ideas and remain sound in their Party life if they are all firmly armed with the Party's policies.

Education in Party policies is necessary for all Party members, without exception. Some may think that this is not necessary for the cadres because they are all highly qualified persons. That is a serious error. As you said in your speeches yesterday, among the cadres there are also many who have low political and theoretical levels. The cadres need more education. Cadres should have a deeper understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and Party policies and equip themselves more firmly with communist ideas.

Some comrades seem to think that propaganda work is finished when they have made an agitation speech and shown a film. That is not propaganda, but agitational work. By Party propaganda work we mean educating the Party members in

Marxist-Leninist ideology and theory and arming them firmly with Party policies. The propaganda department must make this work its cardinal task.

The education of Party members should be conducted to fit the specific conditions. Educational work should always be in keeping with Party members' level of understanding and linked with their immediate revolutionary tasks, and it should be adapted to actual conditions in the local areas. It is no use cramming complicated theories into those who have just learned what revolution is. First teach them the simple truths that are familiar to them in their everyday life and then step by step move on to difficult subjects.

In educating Party members with a low level, for instance, you should start by explaining what social classes are, help them understand why the existence of classes gives rise to the class struggle and revolution, and bring home to them that what we are now engaged in is precisely revolutionary work and class struggle. In this way we should bring everyone to understand clearly what we are now fighting for and what the result will be.

Agitational work is another important task of the propaganda department.

Agitational work is done to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and directly mobilize them to fulfil the revolutionary tasks. Agitational work must not be conducted in a humdrum way, but should be adapted to the time, the specific conditions and to the given revolutionary tasks.

To the soldiers who are making preparations for an assault, for instance, an agitator may tell how courageously Hero Li Su Bok fought for his country and his people, smote the enemy, and guaranteed his unit's victory. This will be highly conducive to arousing the men to a heroic struggle.

But should the agitator tell those preparing for an assault about quite irrelevant matters, such as the food situation in the rear, it would be out of place and prove quite ineffective. Agitational work should be conducted in keeping with rice transplanting in the transplanting season, or harvesting in the harvest

season, and suitable for the workers in the factories or the farmers in the rural areas.

Because our propaganda and agitational work is divorced from reality, it imposes an unnecessarily heavy burden on Party members. Lots of documents are sent down which the Party members are required to read and meetings are held frequently, but these documents and meetings have proved to be of little help in improving the Party members' consciousness and arousing them directly to the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks.

I have found in South Hwanghae Province that the propaganda-agitation department there thinks that it has fulfilled all its duties by conducting a bit of agitational work among the masses while ignoring educational work among Party members and cadres. Its agitational work has not been properly done either.

The propaganda-agitation department should educate the cadres and Party members so that they can analyse matters and solve problems in a Marxist-Leninist way, and should train them to be staunch revolutionaries who unfailingly carry out in any storm and stress the tasks that the Party assigns them. This is the propaganda department's most important duty.

What, then, are the duties of the Party's economic departments such as the heavy industry, light industry, fishing industry and agricultural departments?

The economic departments should also do Party work—work with people. They should work effectively with people in their respective spheres and thereby arouse the cadres and the masses to action for the implementation of Party policies.

Work with the cadres of the economic bodies is the primary task of the Party's economic departments

The educational department should work with the principals and teachers in schools, industrial departments with the managers, chief engineers and shop managers, and agricultural department with the chairmen of agricultural co-operatives and county management committees.

The economic departments should acquaint the cadres with Party policies, supervise, lead and help them in their imple-

mentation and sum up the results of their work in a timely way. The economic departments should continually educate the cadres in Marxism-Leninism and strive to improve their style and method of work.

Today, however, functionaries of the Party's economic departments, instead of doing Party work, that is, work with people, are going around with functionaries of the economic ministries and management bureaus, behaving like taskmasters. They go to factories not to talk with the managers and chief engineers and educate them, but to join the functionaries on administrative bodies in simply urging people forward.

Economic departments of the Party Central Committee themselves are taking administrative work upon themselves, instead of directing their main efforts to work with the cadres. It seems that lower bodies are also following this pattern.

Party departments should do Party work. The organizational and propaganda departments should conduct work with the Party functionaries and the economic departments with the cadres of economic bodies. In that way, the Party and economic functionaries in all bodies will be aroused to action.

Both the Party's organizational, propaganda and economic departments should mainly do Party work, regard work with the cadres as their primary task, and devote all their efforts to keeping the Party organizations and members active. This is precisely the crux of the problem that we want to solve at this plenary meeting.

Now, the question is how to do economic work. That is, how to guarantee economic work, if all the departments of the Party are to concentrate their efforts on Party work only.

I do not mean to say the Party should not engage in economic work. The provincial, county and all other Party committees should bear full responsibility for economic work. The factory Party committees should assume responsibility for production in the factories and the Party committees in the ministries for the work of the ministries.

We are now carrying out two revolutionary tasks: reunifying the country and building socialism. As is stipulated in the

Party Rules, the Party was organized for the fulfilment of these tasks. The Party is fighting for the fulfilment of these tasks; it is enhancing its militant role to assure the fulfilment of these tasks. In a word, the Party is an organization for carrying out the revolution—a detachment fighting for the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks.

How, then, can the Party remain aloof from the work of economic construction? I do not mean to say that a Party committee chairman should occupy himself only with the organizational department.

How, then, should the Party cope with economic work?

The Party should guide economic work, but should not take it fully upon itself. The Party should mobilize the Party organizations and Party members in the economic spheres and give them leadership, thus guaranteeing economic work in such a way as required by the Party. As I have often mentioned, Party functionaries should assume the role of helmsmen in the fulfilment of economic tasks. They should handle the tiller at the stern so that the economic workers sail along the right course charted by the Party lines.

To handle the tiller astern does not mean to tail behind the administration. The Party committee chairman should be in the vanguard when needed. In the guerrilla units the political commissars in charge of political work were in the van when attacking and were the last to leave when retreating. Party functionaries likewise should always be the first to take the brunt of any situation.

The main thing for a Party functionary is to be at the helm whether he is in the front lines or in the rear. Party functionaries should always have a good grasp of Party policies, induce Party members and Party organizations to be active and lead people in the right direction.

Now, what should the Party functionaries bear in mind, before anything else, in exercising leadership at the helm?

Leadership by the Party functionaries should not be given in an administrative way or by means of orders or commands; it should be given in an organized, specific and active way, the

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How, then, should the Party cope with economic work?

The Party should guide economic work, but should not take it fully upon itself. The Party should mobilize the Party organizations and Party members in the economic spheres and give them leadership, thus guaranteeing economic work in such a way as required by the Party. As I have often mentioned, Party functionaries should assume the role of helmsmen in the fulfilment of economic tasks. They should handle the tiller at the stern so that the economic workers sail along the right course charted by the Party lines.

To handle the tiller astern does not mean to tail behind the administration. The Party committee chairman should be in the vanguard when needed. In the guerrilla units the political commissars in charge of political work were in the van when attacking and were the last to leave when retreating. Party functionaries likewise should always be the first to take the brunt of any situation.

The main thing for a Party functionary is to be at the helm whether he is in the front lines or in the rear. Party functionaries should always have a good grasp of Party policies, induce Party members and Party organizations to be active and lead people in the right direction.

Now, what should the Party functionaries bear in mind, before anything else, in exercising leadership at the helm?

Leadership by the Party functionaries should not be given in an administrative way or by means of orders or commands; it should be given in an organized, specific and active way, the

method inherent to the Party. The Party way of doing things means guaranteeing work by rousing the Party members, cadres, committees and cells to action.

In the army, a commanding officer may very well just give the command, "Forward!" No explanation is necessary here.

The Party functionaries, however, should indicate the objectives, patiently and in detail, and organize the work essential for securing them, rather than shouting a command. For this reason, to be a political commander is more difficult than to be a military commander.

If a battle is planned for tomorrow, for instance, the political workers and the chief of staff must spend the whole night preparing for the combat. The chief of staff must work out a detailed combat plan and give concrete missions to all the combatants. And the political workers should conduct necessary political work so that each man may fulfil his combat missions with credit.

In South Hwanghae Province everyone is acting like a military commander and no one is guaranteeing that the work gets done. No one is doing political work or staff officer's work. There are only those who shout the command, "Forward!" Mere orders will get you nowhere if you do not do the concrete work of organizing and mobilizing.

If compost has to be carried out to the fields, the Party organization should first explain the task clearly to the people, and then should mobilize the Party members and organize the work in detail to do the job.

The Party should guarantee this work politically and organizationally. A political worker must be good at doing this. He should mobilize people ideologically through explanation and persuasion, not by orders, and organize their struggle.

All the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee did in its leadership of agriculture was to join the administration in urging people forward, instead of politically guaranteeing the work of the provincial people's committee. The provincial Party and people's committee chairmen both took the lead,

instead of one standing at the rear and the other at the head; and one ordered people to the left, and the other to the right, thus making matters even worse.

Urging people forward in an administrative way is an outdated work method. A people's committee should not use the method of shouting commands either. The people's committee should guarantee the economic work materially and technically, while the Party guarantees it politically, organizationally and on Party lines.

Even in the army doing things by simply issuing commands is not necessarily desirable. There, too, the work should be guaranteed organizationally and technically. A military commander who does nothing but shout orders cannot command our army today. All this is a holdover from the past. No leadership work is conceivable apart from the work of ensuring appropriate conditions for success. Effective leadership requires this work in all fields.

Next, Party functionaries should guard against subjectivism in leadership work. The Party functionaries should look at things objectively, which means facing reality. This means going to the lower units and grasping the actual situation concretely.

Using an administrative style of work will keep you away from reality, out of contact with the masses and lead you to subjectivism.

Some of our functionaries are apt to look at things from only one side rather than from every angle. We should also guard against this in our leadership work. If you overstep your functions and substitute the administration, you will not get a comprehensive grasp of matters.

Administrative workers are apt to see things one-sidedly. The Party, therefore, should always guide them so that they will not go astray.

There are incorrect tendencies such as going too far to the left when right deviation has been criticized, and as getting scared and not properly doing what ought to be done when criticized for mistakes in work. You should not go to the ex-

treme of denying science on the excuse of opposing conservatism.

Deviations may also appear in the guidance of economic affairs. People may exhibit tendencies to keep away from economic work because they have been warned against the practice of taking economic work upon themselves.

Since the most important revolutionary task of the people in the northern half at present is socialist construction, what else are we to do but economic work? The point is that matters should be left to those who are administratively responsible in each field and that the Party should lead them and guarantee their work lest they go astray.

The Party should adequately guarantee the activities of the administrative workers through the Party members, Party organizations and mass organizations. This is the only way to exercise an effective Party leadership over economic work.

If Party functionaries go about only in the van together with the administrative functionaries, they may all stray from the right path and fall into subjectivism. In that case, there would be no one who could put things straight. This error should always be guarded against.

If the Party goes among the masses, acquaints itself with reality, gets a comprehensive grasp of things and gives good leadership, it will not commit errors of subjectivism or deviation, the practice of compromising with wrong tendencies will be eliminated, and everything will go smoothly in accord with the Party line.

The Party committees must control and lead work in an overall way. The provincial, city, county and factory Party executive committees should always discuss all questions arising in their respective fields, give Party leadership in these matters and guarantee their solution on Party lines. Therefore, we must eliminate administrative methods of leadership and prevent deviations and subjectivism.

2. ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Now I should like to say a few words about the need for properly conducting the class struggle in the countryside.

As everyone knows, the exploiting classes have already been overthrown in our countryside and the farmers have become the owners of the land, the masters of a socialist countryside free from all forms of oppression and exploitation. But this does not mean that the class struggle in the countryside is over and that vigilance against the insidious manoeuvres of the counterrevolutionaries in the rural areas may be relaxed. Though at present there are no exploiters, those who were exploiters in the past are still around, and some of them are still watching for a chance to destroy our system. A continued relentless struggle must be waged against these hostile elements.

Before, the landed class represented the most reactionary and wicked class in the rural areas of our country. Just read the novel *Land* and you will get a clear idea of how cruelly the landlords oppressed and exploited our peasants. In this respect, there was little difference between the big and small landlords; the latter was, in fact, no less cruel than the former in sweating the farmers. When carrying out the agrarian reform, therefore, we followed the policy whereby we defined as landlords all those who had owned land exceeding five *chongbo* and leased out their land for tenancy, and confiscated their estates.

A long time has passed since the landlords were liquidated as a class in our countryside. Yet, those who had been landlords are still around, and most of them are hostile to our Party and our people to this day, impatiently biding their time to regain their old positions. We can hardly expect those whose land has been confiscated to completely change their thinking and discard

their illusion about the restoration of the old system; there is little likelihood of their discarding it in their lifetime.

During the agrarian reform we expropriated the land of some 44,000 landlords, a considerable number. We did not hang or shoot the landlords, but only deprived them of their lands and transferred them to other places.

We were able to be so lenient because with power in the hands of the people it was fully possible to carry out the agrarian reform without hanging any landlords.

We were correct in having moved the landlords from their original places of residence to other localities. By so doing, we could thoroughly preclude the possibility of some unawakened peasants being sympathetic and respectful towards the landlords or being influenced by them. It was not a mere migration; we held them under strict control so that they might not do any mischief.

The war, however, confused the issue. It is generally known that during our temporary retreat the landlords carried out reactionary activities and served as flunkeys for the U.S. devils in many places; meanwhile, a considerable number of landlords, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing at the time, sneaked in among the peasants, using false names and pretending to be good men. Needless to say, some have been liquidated, others have made off to south Korea, and others have died of old age. Nevertheless, many of them are still lurking in various parts of the northern half, mostly in the countryside. Among them, for instance, there are many who have falsified their names from Chang so-and-so to Li so-and-so, who, actually being former landlords from Hoeryong County of North Hamgyong Province, are publicly passing themselves off as poor peasants from Kapsan County in Ryanggang Province, or who, though they really have their senses about them, are pretending to be congenital idiots.

Therefore, we must straighten out this confused situation properly and know exactly where and how the landlords are living and what they are up to. The former landlords are even now the prime target of struggle in our countryside. You must

not forget even for a moment that the landlords still have a bitter grudge against our Party and our system and are constantly racking their brains to figure out how to harm us and get back their confiscated land.

During our recent visit to South Hwanghae Province, we heard about a former landlord in Roam-*ri* village, Anak County, who had been lying low playing the fool, and suddenly came to life again during our retreat, made his public appearance in fine dress wearing a soft hat and carrying a walking stick, and proceeded to Changyon County where his forfeited estate was, strutting about shouting at people to return his land. There are innumerable instances similar to this in other places, too.

Those landlords, playing the fool in the countryside, lazy in work and trying to avoid attending meetings under the pretext of illness, getting along so so, are now dreaming of the day they will again come out carrying their walking sticks.

Some landlords pretend to work in the fields with other people in the daytime, but when night falls, they secretly listen to south Korean radio in a back room, and then circulate reactionary rumours among the farmers. These hostile people lurking about may raise their heads, particularly in these days, because the enemy has stepped up his anti-communist campaign, and also because the wind of revisionism is blowing in the socialist camp.

Comrades, anyone who believes that the landlords will not turn against us is really a simpleton. They say that even now in South Hwanghae Province landlords are walking about taking their sons or young grandsons by the hand to show them the confiscated lands one by one, saying: "Even after my death, you must remain here and take back this land by any means!" Anyone who knows the truth of the class struggle will never regard this as accidental. It is obvious that as long as the expropriated landlords remain alive, neither will their ambition die; it too will remain alive, even though they have been overthrown as a class.

Especially in view of the situation where our country is still divided and the U.S. bandits are entrenched in the southern

half, it is quite inconceivable that the minds of the former landlords will undergo a transformation so easily. Of course, when the country is reunified and the U.S. bandits are all driven out, the landlords might more or less abandon their hopes. But even then, the landlords might entertain the illusion that, by some chance, "God" will come down and restore the land to them. They might even present "Him" an offering, be it no more than a bowl of water, and offer prayers in their wild dream that their days of glory will return.

All this should allow us to clearly understand how bitterly the expropriated landlords feel and how deep is the hate they harbour against us. They believe that the landlords' days of glory could return sometime because there are landlords and capitalists in south Korea and, furthermore, U.S. troops are stationed there. They are therefore watching and biding their time day and night for a chance to revolt against us. You must be fully conscious of this fact and make it known to Party members and all the farmers, and by doing so lead the entire people to sharpen their vigilance against any hostile acts by the landlords. This is important.

There are some comrades who often show more vigilance against those once affiliated with the "peace maintenance corps" than against the former landlords. They are wrong to do so. Of course, those rich peasants who joined the "peace maintenance corps" and deliberately carried out reactionary activities and vicious atrocities, are, like the landlords, the objects of our dictatorship and our struggle. But there are a considerable number of middle and poor peasants, and even former hired farmhands, who were duped or bluffed into joining the "peace maintenance corps." Considering their class origin, these people can be won over to our side. Our Party does not regard people of these strata as objects of its struggle but rather as people who must be won over again by every means of education and persuasion.

If we cannot accept those who joined the "peace maintenance corps," ignorant of what was what and scared by the sudden appearance of the U.S. scoundrels, how can we, if we

are so narrow-minded, hope to win over the masses of the people in the southern half and achieve the cause of national reunification? In south Korea, at present, there are approximately 700,000 men in active service with the puppet army alone and, if those discharged after their tour of duty are added, the figure reaches several million. Lots of them might have fought against our People's Army on the battlefields. Yet, we cannot regard all of the puppet army soldiers, who are mostly of worker and farmer origin as enemies; on the contrary, we must work actively to bring all of them to the fold of the people, that is, win them over to our side.

We must bear in mind the fact that a complete victory in the Korean revolution is yet to be won and that the task of helping the south Korean people to accomplish the south Korean revolution and of reunifying the country still remains. The decisive factor in the accomplishment of this task is for the Party to win over the broad masses and accumulate the revolutionary forces. Only when we have isolated the handful of enemies and rallied the entire people in north and south Korea firmly around our Party, shall we be prepared at any time to meet the great event of national reunification and win final victory in the revolution.

It is precisely from this point of view that we should approach all sectors of the masses, forge unity with them, and strive to draw every last one of them to the side of the revolution.

And it is essential that we should invariably judge people from a class point of view and, basing ourselves firmly on the class line of the Party, draw a strict distinction between friend and foe. The enemies can be isolated and the largest possible number of people can be won over only when those against whom we struggle and those with whom we seek unity are correctly determined on the basis of a class analysis.

Why do we regard those people of poor or middle peasant origin who were drawn into the "peace maintenance corps" and stood guard a few times as people who can be welcomed back and must be won over? It is because, even though they have

committed serious errors due to their lack of political consciousness, they are working people as regards their class origin and they have benefited greatly from the revolution. Since they are people who had originally belonged to the main masses of our Party and were merely implicated in the counterrevolution for a time under enemy influence, they should not be tarred with the same brush as the enemy, but should be freed from enemy influence, turned onto the path of the revolution and thus won back to become part of the masses on which our Party is based. This is the right thing to do.

Why, then, do we consider it necessary to struggle against the former landlords and those rich farmers who were affiliated with the "peace maintenance corps" and perpetrated heinous atrocities? It is because they are of hostile class origin, and their estates have been expropriated or they have been hard hit by the revolution. Inasmuch as they purposely committed and are still committing counterrevolutionary acts with the backing of the U.S. devils and in the future will also come out against our Party and our system whenever they get a chance, it is natural and right to wage an uncompromising struggle against them.

As has been starkly revealed in South Hwanghae Province this time, there seems to me to be a general trend among Party organizations of not directing serious attention to the class struggle in the countryside. Work with the strata that must be welcomed back has not been conducted in depth, and, what is worse, the struggle against the hostile elements has been unsatisfactory. Even those former landlords who are openly spreading vicious rumours against us have been left untouched, and even such acts of going about marking off their expropriated land with stakes in the hope of taking it back have been tolerated. We have seen such non-class phenomena as farmers treating the landlords as "influential men" of the village instead of hating them, a Party functionary repairing a landlord's house, and so on. In a certain village there have even been cases of admitting unawares a disguised hostile element into the Party ranks or appointing one to a leading post in a co-operative. This clearly

shows that local Party functionaries have a very dull political eye with regard to the class struggle, and that the Party members and the farmers have a very low level of class consciousness.

The real situation now in each *ri* of the countryside is that no practical struggle has been organized against the hostile elements, and that includes the former landlords. If they conduct propaganda against us or commit hostile acts, you must arouse the masses of farmers for the struggle to expose and shatter their manoeuvres.

When we call for this kind of struggle, another deviation may appear. Criticized for the inadequate combat against the former landlords, in some parts of South Hwanghae Province they have brought out all the old records which had been stowed away for many years and are making a sudden fuss about fighting against the landlords, insisting that they are wicked. How can we expect these comrades to be able to do Party work and lead the class struggle when we see them making such a fuss all of a sudden, having so far connived at all the mischievous doings of the landlords in their belief that even landlords might be good people? All this can be ascribed to the fact that our Party functionaries lack revolutionary training and are not firmly armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the Party line.

It is not necessary now to do away with all the landlords whom we did not hang even when we expropriated their estates. The point is that the struggle against them should be correctly organized, that the farmers should be convinced to show no sympathy or respect for them, and that, when they commit reactionary crimes, they should be exposed by the masses and handed over to a judicial body to be dealt with as anyone else who is caught red-handed. No matter what a landlord may think inwardly or what attitude he might take at any future time, we ought not to touch him so long as he faithfully abides by our laws and remains obedient now.

Those who support what we are doing, and behave themselves correctly, recognizing their past landlordism as criminal,

had better be reformed; there is no need to unnecessarily harass such persons who, for the sake of the future of their children, are refraining from doing wrong. There are some cases where the sons and daughters of former landlords grow up, are good at their studies and work with devotion, and their parents are obliged to support our state power. In view of such experience, we should wait and see about such people for the present. And as for those who repent their mistakes and come over to our side, it is advisable that they should be strictly examined, carefully educated and transformed and taken along with us.

As you see, to organize and lead the class struggle is a very complex task requiring prudence. This work cannot proceed successfully if it is conducted in an administrative, stereotyped way or if it is guided carelessly according to the subjective judgments of a few persons, as is the case in a considerable number of local Party organizations. Also, this is not a task that may be cast aside after one or two days of work; it should be carried forward continuously, firmly and consistently.

The struggle against class enemies should become our constant political struggle, an all-people struggle directed by our Party organizations. Even though we hold power, it would be wrong to decide in one's mind that a certain fellow should be put in jail and try to make short work of the matter merely by issuing an official notice, without conducting political work to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. By this method we will achieve nothing in our struggle but instead may make a mess of our work.

Comrades, you must break this habit of trying to do revolutionary work the easy way and to guide the class struggle administratively. As you have become county Party committee chairmen without undergoing revolutionary trials, you often seek to deal with matters in a facile, administrative way. This is not the work method for revolutionaries. For Communists, politics means winning over people by persuasion, organizing and mobilizing the masses. The only way to win our struggle is by doing this well. If you had ever been a chairman of a county Party committee who has recruited Party members one by one

and united the masses over a period of 20 or 30 years of arduous revolutionary activities and, on this basis, personally built up a fighting unit as large as today's county Party organization, you would never have sought to direct the class struggle in an easy, administrative way, but would, as a matter of course, have led it in a revolutionary way as mentioned above.

When the Party Central Committee gave instructions last year to absolve those who had committed evil deeds in the past of their crimes and welcome them back more boldly, the Party organizations in South Hwanghae Province granted random absolution to thousands of people a day; and, to make matters worse, they began by absolving those hostile elements who could under no circumstances be forgiven, on the allegation that those who had committed minor crimes would feel relieved if the grave offenders were forgiven first. This is also a political error ascribable to the fact that the Party organizations simply sought to deal with revolutionary work administratively.

Who we had in mind when we gave the instructions for absolution were not those hostile elements of exploiting-class origin who had committed hideous barbarities, but those whose origin was that of working people and who once committed errors but later sincerely repented and strove to follow us. These are the very people that should be forgiven, so that they stop vacillating, throw off their depressed feeling, and follow us with firmer conviction and greater zeal, and that all the people are knit together in a more cheerful atmosphere and in greater amity. And only when these people are pardoned, will they decisively free themselves from the influence of the hostile elements and will the scoundrels be further isolated.

If good people are not absolved but are treated as offenders as ever, the scoundrels will sneak round brewing mischief. The story of the film *At a Village Near the Demarcation Line* shows this clearly: A spy disguised as a workteam leader is exposed while attempting to confuse an honest relative of a man who had gone to the south by saying, "What's the use of working hard?" It is our stand to actively accept and win over

the relatives of those who the U.S. scoundrels forcibly took away or deceived into going to the south during the war. To do this, we must boldly demonstrate trust in these people and lead them to put their faith in us, while preventing bad elements from exerting any influence on them.

In proposing to forgive people who took part briefly in counterrevolutionary activities in the past, we aim to isolate the wicked hostile elements completely, prevent them from encouraging vacillations among our people, unite the masses still more firmly around our Party, and, finally, intensify the class struggle. Nevertheless, the vicious elements, before anyone else, were all pardoned in a day in South Hwanghae Province. This is little short of giving up the class struggle. This only made the bad people rejoice secretly, just as if their day of glory had arrived, while the good people, forgiven simultaneously with such fellows, gained little encouragement. Moreover, it led to the paralysis of the fighting spirit of the main masses against the hostile elements, and even aroused indignation among some families whose relatives had been murdered by the enemy. This, of course, is a phenomenon which took place in some localities in South Hwanghae Province, but I think all Party organizations ought to learn serious lessons from it.

It is the spirit of the current plenary meeting to effect a switchover of Party work from doing things administratively to the revolutionary work methods of organizing and mobilizing the Party members and masses. These methods must also be definitely employed in leading the class struggle in the countryside. Scrupulous organization and vigorous promotion of the struggle against the class enemies by arousing the Party members and all the masses to activity is the key to the successful conduct of the complex class struggle.

The landlord's true class nature must be driven home to the Party members and the farm masses; the landlords' past crimes must be exposed before their eyes; and all the masses must be convinced to hate the enemy and constantly keep a highly vigilant eye on every movement of the hostile elements. If only you see to this, the bad elements in the rural areas will find them-

selves in a bind and our enemies will be bound hand and foot.

Bent on issuing administrative commands without conducting Party work, the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee also failed to give effective leadership in the class struggle in the countryside. This kind of shortcoming must be corrected, first of all, in South Hwanghae Province, and all the other provincial Party organizations should also learn a lesson from this and, in the future, skilfully conduct the class struggle in the countryside strictly in accordance with the revolutionary mass line.

The class relations and the orientation of the class struggle in our country at the present time are clearly stated in the Party documents that have already been issued. In particular, the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee adopted on April 1, 1960 set forth the concrete policies of isolating the handful of enemies and rallying the masses of various strata still more closely around our Party. When all Party organizations thoroughly carry through these correct policies which are in keeping with our reality, I think whatever complex problems in the class struggle will be solved quite easily.

3. ON STRENGTHENING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

Everyone knows that the Moscow Declaration adopted at the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 pointed out that modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist movement.

Of late, revisionism has raised its head more overtly in various fields and is having a serious disintegrating effect on the ranks of the international communist movement.

Revisionism has not been in existence for only a day or two. It has quite a long history. The entire course of the emergence

the relatives of those who the U.S. scoundrels forcibly took away or deceived into going to the south during the war. To do this, we must boldly demonstrate trust in these people and lead them to put their faith in us, while preventing bad elements from exerting any influence on them.

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and development of Marxist-Leninist ideas is a history of struggle against Right and "Left" opportunist trends of all descriptions, against revisionism and dogmatism.

Revisionism came into being after the death of Marx and Engels, that is, between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, as an opportunist trend to revise the revolutionary essence of Marxism under the cloak of Marxism.

As the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class became sharper with the advent of the imperialist stage of capitalism, the monopoly capitalists, intensifying the suppression of the revolutionary labour movement, pursued the policy of bribing the upper stratum of labour and using them as their agents with the aim of splitting the labour movement and disrupting it from within. Thus, the degenerates and renegades of the revolutionary movement, sold out to the imperialist bourgeoisie, revised Marxism to please the capitalists. Hence, their opportunism came to be called revisionism.

The opportunist, revisionist trends in Europe were represented by the Bernstein school in Germany, the Millerand school in France, the Fabian Society in Britain, and the legal Marxists, economists and Mensheviks in Russia. Later, the parties of almost all countries under the Second International, except in Russia, slid into the slough of revisionism.

Only the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin put up an uncompromising struggle against all kinds of opportunist trends and upheld the revolutionary banner of Marxism to the end. At the time, the revisionists attacked Lenin as a dogmatist because of his refusal to revise Marxism.

Lenin's chief enemy in his struggle for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist Party was economism, a Russian variety of international revisionism. From the very first day that economism emerged in Russia, Lenin conducted a relentless struggle against this revisionist trend. He thoroughly exposed the anti-Marxist essence of economism in a booklet *A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats*.

Likewise, when the Party Programme and Rules were being adopted at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-

Democratic Labour Party in 1903, Lenin had to conduct a fierce struggle against the opportunists. The opportunists came out against the insertion of clauses concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasant question and the national question in the Party Programme. But, by virtue of Lenin's determined fight, the Party Congress succeeded in crushing the opposition of the opportunist elements and in adopting the first Marxist programme of the revolutionary workers' party.

The Mensheviks, who after 1903 formed an opportunist faction within the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, degenerated into a group of Liquidationists who insisted upon the liquidation of the illegal party during the period of reaction following the failure of the first Russian revolution.

When the First World War broke out, the parties of many countries under the Second International denied the imperialist nature of the war and called upon the workers of their countries to fight in "defence of their homeland" Thus, the Second International opportunists completely surrendered to the imperialist bourgeoisie and overtly turned into social-chauvinists.

Only the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin thoroughly exposed the imperialist nature of the war, opposed the workers of all countries killing one another in the interests of the imperialists, and launched the revolutionary slogan of converting the *imperialist war into civil wars. Thus, under the leadership of* the great Lenin, who upheld and further carried forward the banner of revolutionary Marxism, the October Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia

Today, the revolutionary forces throughout the world have grown incomparably strong More than one-third of the world's population is building a new life of socialism. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, a powerful anti-imperialist, national-liberation movement is under way; within the imperialist countries the working class is stepping up its struggle against the domination of monopoly capital

In these circumstances, the imperialists are becoming more and more frantic. While intensifying the plunder and suppres-

imperialist aggression forever and allowing the traitors to the nation to exploit and oppress the south Korean workers and peasants.

Let certain people renounce Marxism-Leninism and take the revisionist path, but we cannot allow ourselves to waver and compromise with imperialism. There is a revolutionary song which says: "Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer. We'll keep the Red Flag flying here." This expresses our invariable determination. We must continue with the revolution and resolutely fight against imperialism to the end.

Our task cannot be confined to the safeguarding of the revolutionary gains already attained in the northern half. We are duty bound to help our fellow countrymen in south Korea to accomplish the south Korean revolution and continue to fight until the day when socialism and communism will have been built in the whole of Korea. We can by no means rest content with the victory we have won in the northern half, nor should we relax in the least. We cannot degenerate into cowards who are afraid of shedding blood in the revolution and fear prison and the gallows.

We must not forget even for a moment that the northern half is the base of the Korean revolution. We must firmly build up a mighty political, economic and military force in this revolutionary base and, relying on this base, must bring the Korean revolution to final completion. This is the duty of the Korean Communists.

We must be prepared for the pressure that the revisionists might bring to bear upon us in many ways. No matter how they may calumniate and slander us, we will brush them aside and uphold Marxism-Leninism to the last.

We will do everything in our power to support the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples throughout the world and give active support to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in all countries against the domination of monopoly capital.

This line of ours is fundamentally opposed to revisionism. Because we are for the revolution and against imperialism, we

have no alternative but to combat revisionism which is an agent of imperialism. The choice is between two roads: whether we *firmly safeguard the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism against revisionism or degenerate into revisionists* and yield to imperialism. We have no other way.

We must resolutely repudiate revisionism and continue our unyielding fight for the victory of the revolutionary cause.

Not only our Party but the Communist Parties of many Asian countries subjected to imperialist encroachment are asserting that the revolution must be continued and a resolute struggle must be waged against revisionism.

As long as imperialism exists, there will be imperialist oppression; and as long as there is imperialist oppression, the people will struggle against it and revolution will break out. Only through their struggle and revolution can the people free themselves from the yoke of imperialist oppression and exploitation. The revolution calls for the firm safeguarding of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against revisionism.

The peoples of many countries in the world are still subjected to imperialist oppression and exploitation. Therefore, more and more people will make a revolution in the future Whatever the revisionists may do in their attempt to paralyse the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and emasculate the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary movement will continue and Marxism-Leninism will remain alive and triumph without fail. Just as the fall of capitalism and the victory of socialism are inevitable, so are the ruin of revisionism and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

In the whole Party, ideological work should be conducted thoroughly to oppose revisionism. While strengthening the Marxist-Leninist education of the Party members, the revisionist viewpoints and conceptions should be explained clearly to them, so that they will unerringly be able to tell right from wrong. It is very important here to make Lenin's attitude towards revisionism and how he criticized it known to the Party members. Ideological education has thus far been remiss

in opposing revisionism. From now on, this work should be improved.

While waging the struggle against revisionism, we must fight against the Western way of life. Our struggle against the Western way of life is aimed at rejecting the American way of life, not everything Western. It can be said that revisionism is a first cousin to the Western way of life. When revisionism comes in, the Western way of life comes along with it and vice versa.

Now, concretely, what is the Western way of life? In music, for instance, it is represented by jazz, and in dance, by mambo (naked dance). When we speak of a Western lunatic or a frivolous and vain fellow, we refer to those who are infected with this Western way of life. National nihilists, flunkeyists, people who hate revolution and depraved persons readily accept the Western way of life.

We should prevent the infiltration of the Western way of life by strengthening Marxist-Leninist education, by establishing the Party ideological system, by stepping up education in the revolutionary traditions and by strengthening revolutionary order and discipline among the Party members and the working people. Party ideological work to repudiate revisionism and the Western way of life should be conducted energetically among the writers, artists and scientific workers in particular. Those who despise everything their own and worship everything foreign and those who lack the spirit of self-reliance are most susceptible to the Western way of life and revisionism.

Certain persons are denouncing self-reliance as nationalism. But how can it be nationalism? Self-reliance is the lofty revolutionary spirit of Communists. Why is it wrong to carry out revolution through one's own efforts and build socialism for oneself?

It is impossible to make a revolution by depending on other countries. Dependence will lead to mistrust of one's own strength and also prevent efforts to make the best use of the domestic resources of one's own country. Self-reliance means building socialism and accomplishing the revolution on one's

own by every means. This is the only way to be loyal to internationalism and contribute to the common cause of socialism.

We are not the people who reject foreign aid. We welcome the aid of the fraternal countries. Nobody will refuse to accept an offer of aid. But what should we do when nobody offers us aid? Even if nobody gives us aid, we must carry out the revolution and build socialism.

Comrades, formerly we had to buy grain from foreign countries every year. But, from this year on we need not do so because we had a good crop last year. What a good thing it is to harvest a good crop and lighten the burdens of our brother countries! I think this is real internationalism. How are we to interpret the mental attitude of those who do not give aid and at the same time slander self-reliance by calling it nationalism?

Even among our people there are also some who question self-reliance. Such people are found from time to time among the scientific workers. Having no faith in our own strength, these people think we cannot get along without aid from others. It is not true that we cannot live without aid. We can not only live as well as we wish even without aid, but also build socialism splendidly, and must certainly do so.

In order to instil the spirit of self-reliance in the Party members and the working people, we must continue to wage a vigorous struggle to reject flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish *Juche*, and, at the same time, must always educate them so that they will not become degenerate, but live frugally.

As for our Party's attitude towards the problem of unity in the international communist movement, we, of course, must always work for unity with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries and for strengthening the unity of the socialist camp.

But even though we work to cement unity with the fraternal countries, we can under no circumstances accept the demand to renounce the revolution and take to revisionism. We will support the fraternal countries in whatever is right but will not follow them in whatever is wrong. This is our Party's attitude towards the problem of unity in the international communist

movement which has been raised in connection with the struggle against modern revisionism.

As regards revisionism, I think you will have an opportunity for a more profound study of it in the future. So, I will not speak of it any more today.

In conclusion, I once again emphasize that the whole Party, by strengthening its organizational and ideological work in accordance with the spirit of this plenary meeting, should strive to become a party which is militant and always dynamic, and to train our Party members to be indomitable revolutionary fighters capable of faithfully carrying out Party assignments under any difficult circumstances.

LET US RADICALLY IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS BY STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE COUNTY AND FURTHER DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

Concluding Speech at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Functionaries
August 6, 1962

For about a week you have been visiting local industry factories, livestock farms, agricultural co-operatives and educational and cultural establishments in Changsong and Sakju Counties and have seen for yourselves the life of the population in the county seats, rural villages and workers' districts. At yesterday's meeting you heard the report of the chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee and the speeches made by the comrades, the chairman of the Sakju County Party Committee, the manager of the Changsong Textile Mill and the chairman of the Kumya Agricultural Co-operative in Changsong County. I believe you have learned much from your on-the-spot inspection tour and from this joint conference.

Of course, I do not mean to say that Changsong, Sakju and Pyokdong Counties have all worked perfectly and without any shortcomings. However, in the course of your inspection, you must have seen as a vivid reality that our peasants can live well even in such remote mountain areas as Changsong, Sakju and Pyokdong.

The land under cultivation here is very limited, and extremely sterile at that. Even counties in other mountain areas of our country, for instance, the counties in North Hamgyong, Chagang and Ryanggang Provinces and such counties as Singye and Koksan in North Hwanghae Province are better off than Changsong County both in cultivated area and in land fertility. We certainly cannot say they are worse.

Therefore, the great changes that have taken place in Changsong and Pyokdong lead us to the unshakable conclusion that if they follow the Party instructions, even the inhabitants of barren areas can live as well as those in the flat areas like Mundok in South Pyongan Province, Hamju in South Hamgyong Province and Chaeryong and Sinchon in South Hwanghae Province.

As you all know, due to the correct policies of our Party big changes have also taken place in other mountainous counties of our country and the living standards of the peasants have, on the whole, reached the level of the middle peasantry. Therefore, the question that now confronts us is no longer that of relieving the poor peasants from their penury but rather, how to raise the living standards of the peasants to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry.

When can we say they have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry?

As we always say, they can be said to have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry when they eat rice and meat soup for their daily meals, wear good clothes and live in tile-roofed houses. This year Changsong County is expected to distribute three tons of grain and 1,500 *won* in cash to every peasant household, which means that they have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry.

If the people of Changsong and Pyokdong who cultivate poor hillside land can all reach the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry, it is self-evident that those residing in other areas can fare even better.

The primary object of this joint conference is to ensure the full implementation, in all regions, of the Party's policy for

elevating the living standards of the peasants in the sterile mountain areas as a whole to the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry and for radically raising the living standards of the population in the county seats and workers' districts on the basis of the successes and experiences already gained.

The successful solution of this task depends entirely upon whether or not the functionaries of county Party committees, county people's committees and county agricultural co-operative management committees do their work well and efficiently build up the co-operatives and local industry factories in their counties.

Following the example of Changsong, Sakju and Pyokdong, the county Party committee chairmen should see to it that the living standards of the peasants in the highlands, to say nothing of the lowland dwellers, reach those of the well-to-do middle peasantry within the next two or three years.

That will be quite possible if only you organize your work correctly and work efficiently. This was made clear yesterday in the speech of the chairman of the Rangrim County Party Committee who said that the living standards of the peasants in his county, the most backward area, will be improved considerably this year.

Therefore, subsequent to this conference, we should strive to raise the peasants' living standards to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry and provide jobs for all dependants of factory and office workers in the counties to increase their average monthly income to more than 75 to 80 *won* per household, thereby improving the living standards of all people in the counties and bringing about a greater innovation in production

1. ON THE ROLE OF THE COUNTY

The role of the county is very important both in carrying out the tasks set forth at this conference and in developing the

economy and culture of the local areas in general. That is why we have asked many county cadres to participate in this conference.

The system of administrative organization in our country consists of the central authority, province, county and *ri*. The county can be regarded as the lowest unit of administrative leadership that gives first-hand guidance to the farm villages and workers' districts and is directly concerned with the life of the peasants and the inhabitants of the workers' districts.

Therefore, the development of the farm villages and workers' districts depends largely upon how the county agencies do their work. Also, the improvement of the living standards of the workers and peasants is determined greatly by whether the county does its work well or not.

The county is not only the lowest administrative setup that leads the *ri* and workers' districts but also the base that links the towns with the countryside in all fields of politics, economy and culture. It might be impossible for all peasants to visit the big cities, but, at least, they can visit their respective county seats. The peasants get acquainted with the Party's policies through the county, and it is through the county that they maintain economic ties with the towns and assimilate urban culture and customs.

The policies of the central authority and the policies of the provinces which are based on the former are all immediately passed down to the farm villages and workers' districts through the county. Indeed, the county is the lowest unit that directly organizes and leads the execution of the Party's policies; it is the political base that disseminates the Party's policies to the farm villages.

The county also serves as the base for the development of the local economy and as the supply centre for the countryside.

Local industry develops with the county as a unit and the development of agriculture is also organized and guided by the county itself. Products from the countryside reach the towns by way of the county, and it is through the county that

all industrial products manufactured in the towns are supplied to the countryside. Furthermore, urban technical civilization spreads to the countryside through the county, thereby accelerating the technical revolution in the countryside.

The population of the rural areas and workers' districts under the county's jurisdiction will account for at least one half of the entire population even when socialist construction has made further progress and the urban population has increased. Since the farm villages are dispersed, it would hardly be possible to set up a supply centre in every rural *ri* even when a communist society is realized in the future. Even under communism, therefore, the counties in our country will still be the economic bases that link towns with the countryside, the supply centres for the countryside.

The county is also the base of the cultural revolution in the countryside. It serves as the base for eliminating the survivals of feudalism and the outmoded manners and customs in the countryside, remoulding ideological consciousness and manners and customs of the peasants and introducing advanced socialist culture into the countryside.

It is of great importance to solve the rural question in all countries, Asian countries in particular. It can be said that the solution of the peasant question is the key to the victory of revolution in the underdeveloped agrarian countries in Asia where the peasants comprise the majority of the population.

Our Party has so far correctly solved the rural question by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country and further developing it.

In our country agricultural co-operativization was successfully completed several years ago and the task of the technical revolution in the countryside, with irrigation, electrification and mechanization as its main objectives, is also being carried out at a very rapid pace.

In the future we should carry out the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside, and thus eliminate the distinctions between town and country, put the living standards of the workers and peasants on the same level and, at the same

time, make the peasants in the plains and in mountain areas live equally well.

None of these questions can be solved successfully if the county fails to do its work properly.

Thus the county plays a very important role in all realms of socialist construction.

To strengthen the work of the county and build up the exemplary county seat is of great importance not only in hastening socialist construction but also in gradually eliminating the distinctions between town and country and building a communist society. Therefore, to build up the county properly is by no means a temporary and simple task but an important one which we should continuously work at until a communist society is built in the future.

Only when the county does its work well, will its politics, economy and culture develop rapidly and only when the county seat is built up in an exemplary way, will the rural villages follow its example. The county should develop local industry, correctly direct agriculture and build good stores, schools, hospitals and so forth. By doing this, the county should strengthen its role in every way as the lowest unit of administrative leadership and as the base that links towns with the countryside.

Local industry and agriculture have developed apace and the living standards of the working people have improved in Changsong County because the county did its work well. In Changsong they produced great quantities of foodstuffs and articles of daily use with wild fruits and wild fibre raw materials and thus increased the incomes of the factory and office workers and, at the same time, they quickly raised the living standards of the peasants by utilizing the mountains in developing animal husbandry and by increasing agricultural and sideline production to suit the natural and geographical conditions of the local area.

Because their county did its work well, the people of Changsong have enough food and clothing, they can study to their hearts' satisfaction, listen to the radio and see films. They

are also good at art circle activities, keep their houses neat and tidy, take good care of their children, and they are well-mannered, too.

Though Changsong is a remote mountainous area, there is no great difference today between the life of the people in Changsong and that of the inhabitants of cities such as Pyongyang and Sinuiju.

Under capitalism before the rural inhabitants were contemptuously called "bumpkins." Things, however, have changed in our society. Suffice it to take the Yaksu Middle School at Kanam-*ri* in Changsong County as an example.

From olden times this place has been called Kanam-*ri*—a village between rocks—because it is located between rocky hills. Kanam-*ri* was, indeed, a wild out-of-the-way place where there was nothing but hills, stones and water, and the inhabitants were real "bumpkins" in the past.

But now there is not a single "bumpkin" to be found in Kanam-*ri*. The pupils of the Yaksu Middle School are all top-honour or honour pupils; every pupil can play more than one musical instrument and is also good at physical culture. They all go to school carrying vinyl schoolbags, they wear raincoats when it rains and overcoats in the winter.

Indeed, the look of the land of Changsong and the living standards of its people have changed fundamentally today. There is no doubt that if the functionaries of the county Party committees, county people's committees, county agricultural co-operative management committees and county educational and cultural institutions work well like that, the local industry of the counties will develop and agricultural production will increase, thus enabling all the county inhabitants to lead an affluent life; and the technical and cultural revolutions will be successfully carried out, facilitating the building of socialism and communism.

The last few years have witnessed great progress in the work of our counties on the whole, but there are still many shortcomings in the work of some counties in organizing local industry and running trade networks, in selling urban goods to

the countryside and purchasing agricultural produce from the peasants, and in managing educational, cultural and public health establishments.

Take commodity circulation for example. In some counties the procurement of agricultural products from the peasants is not organized to assure promptness and effectivity, and urban goods are not supplied to the countryside as they should be. As a result, commodities pile up in some places while other places have a shortage of required goods.

And while some counties provide a sufficient amount of edible oil to their population and produce and supply tasty soy sauce, bean paste, bean curd, dairy products, soft drinks, etc., other counties do not think of gathering and processing wild fruits, which grow in plenty, leaving them all at the mercy of wolves and bears; they have even failed to supply soft drinks to their people. Moreover, the peasants raise a large number of rabbits and produce meat, which cannot be processed for the lack of factories.

This is entirely due to the failure of the counties to organize local industry and procurement work efficiently.

These counties should learn in earnest from the experiences of Changsong and Sakju Counties. Changsong and Sakju Counties have built maize-processing mills on their own and process maize for the peasants; they press oil out of the maize embryos left after the processing, and supply it to the workers and peasants. The peasants are happy enough to eat corn meal instead of whole kernels, and they are even paid for the maize embryos. This is just fine!

The Party's policy is clear. It is to make good use of the mountains in mountainous areas, turn the sea to good account in coastal areas and tap the favourable conditions and reserves of the local areas to the maximum by conducting all work such as the distribution of crop areas, mechanization, irrigation and electrification according to the actual conditions of the respective counties.

Even now, immense reserves exist in the provinces. If the county does its work well, the workers and peasants can be sup-

plied with plenty of vegetable oil, delicious soy sauce and paste, meat and soft drinks.

The work of sanitation and beautification is unsatisfac in some rural villages, and the counties concerned are to b for this.

A particularly heavy responsibility rests on the co Party committee chairman. If he does his job properly, peasants and the residents of the workers' districts can le good life; otherwise, the population in the county will not well no matter what good conditions they may be blessed

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A particularly heavy responsibility rests on the county Party committee chairman. If he does his job properly, the peasants and the residents of the workers' districts can lead a good life; otherwise, the population in the county will not live well no matter what good conditions they may be blessed with.

The matter depends on the enthusiasm of the chairman of the county Party committee. There are slow-tempered and hot-tempered men, but this does not mean anything to a Communist. Ideology is the important thing. Our functionaries still lack the will to provide an affluent life to the workers and peasants. Nothing is out of our reach if we make up our minds and set to work.

In Changsong County things go very smoothly because the county Party committee chairman leads the masses. And the masses have become interested in carrying out the Party's policies and have gained self-confidence. As a result, whatever task they may be given, the entire mass buckle down to it and carry it out unfailingly and admirably.

It is no easy task to collect 1,000 tons of wild strawberries. Comrades, go to other counties and ask the people to do it. They would probably be dumbfounded and would not even attempt it. Yet, the people of Changsong have become a powerful detachment fully capable of carrying out that sort of work. Who should do it first? The chairman of the county Party committee and the chairmen of the *ri* Party committees should take the lead.

In no other county have I found dykes properly built to prevent the land from being washed away. But here in Changsong, the chairman of the county Party committee was the first to carry out the Party's instruction. Things could not go amiss when the county Party committee chairman got up early in the morning and went out to work, earlier than others, with a *chige* on his back. Everybody worked to build the dyke.

In this way, they erected houses and domestic animal sheds, collected strawberries and built local industry factories.

When the groundwork was laid for a foodstuff factory, I paid them a visit and told them that they had better build a dyke, for the site might be flooded in the rainy season. The very next day the county Party committee chairman got the people together and built the dyke. Several days later there was a flood but the construction site was not affected.

There is no special secret in building up a county. Solutions will be found for everything if the chairman of the county Party committee accepts the Party's policies promptly and leads the masses, setting an example for them in action.

If the chairman of the county Party committee takes an I-don't-care attitude, sleeps late and shows up after eight o'clock in the morning, he can never mobilize the masses and build up the county properly.

With this joint conference as a point of departure, we should rectify the shortcomings in our county work, increase the role of the county and develop county work on a higher level in all spheres of local industry, agriculture, commodity circulation, education, culture, public health and so on.

We have more work to do since the economic foundations of the country have been consolidated, the output of products has increased and the living standards of the people rapidly improved.

The living standards of our people are incomparably better now than in the past when they lived on gruel. As many comrades pointed out in their speeches at yesterday's session, those people who were once so poor that father and son had to share one suit are now rich enough to buy even raincoats and overcoats for their children. Today those who starved and shivered in the cold with neither shelter nor food in the past not only live in tile-roofed houses and eat their fill but want better foods and articles of daily use and more cultural materials.

Who should satisfy such great demands of the people? None other than the county Party committee, the county people's

committee and the county agricultural co-operative management committee, because it is precisely the county that explains and brings home the Party lines and policies to the masses and directly organizes their implementation.

If the brains of the chairman of the county Party committee get rusty and county work stands still, it will be impossible to secure the political, economic and cultural development of the local areas or raise the living standards of the working people.

I do not mean that there is serious mistake in the work of our counties at present The defect is that some counties are developing rapidly while others are progressing slowly. All counties should advance as swiftly as Changsong and Sakju without disparity in the rate of development.

2. ON FURTHER DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY

The necessity of developing local industry was discussed a great deal at the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, so I will briefly stress only some points.

The county should have some local industries in order to fully play its role as the supply base for the countryside.

When it has local industry, the county can not only opportunely procure and process the products turned out by the peasants and supply plenty of foodstuffs and articles of daily use to the peasants and the residents of the workers' districts but also give more incentives to the peasants for production.

If the products produced by the peasants, particularly, vegetables, meat, fruit, milk and the like are not procured quickly, the peasants will lose their incentive for production; even when these products are procured, precious farm produce will spoil if not processed rapidly. Therefore, the county should develop local industry, quickly procure and process the farm produce and sideline products turned out by the peasants, thereby not only satisfying the demands of the people for

consumer goods but also stimulating the peasants to produce.

If we fail to develop local industry and build only big factories under central authority, we will have many difficulties in transporting raw materials and supplying products.

How difficult it would be if we built foodstuff, textile, paper and other factories only in cities, and had to bring raw materials from all parts of the country, press oil and produce textiles and send them back to the consumer areas! Suppose we made soy sauce and bean paste in Pyongyang and sent them to the remote mountain areas. We would have to bring in beans, make the soy sauce and bean paste and send them back there. In sum, it would be a two-way transportation. However, if we manufacture various products with raw materials available in the provinces right on the spot and supply them to the people there, this kind of transportation will be unnecessary.

It is a very reasonable and correct policy to develop local industry close to the source of raw materials and directly linked with consumer areas.

Furthermore, without developing local industry, it would be impossible to make full use of abundant raw and other materials or other reserves and potentialities existing in the provinces. Local industry brings large profits to the state by utilizing raw materials which abound in local areas such as wild plant fibres, hemp fibres, fibres recuperated from rags and wild fruits.

In addition, medium- and small-sized local factories can be built in large numbers with a small investment and in a short space of time, and they can go into production quickly. The construction of big factories calls for a huge state investment and requires a long period of time. Needless to say, those industries which need big equipment and advanced techniques and require large investments, such as the iron and chemical industries, should be managed under the central authority but those which require simple equipment should be developed on a local basis.

It stands to reason that large-scale central industries and medium- and small-scale local industries are developed simultaneously for the advancement of light industry.

Local industry is also very important in the general development of all areas of the country.

Our country remained agrarian for a long time, so a great part of the population lived in the countryside. With the growth of industry the ratio of the rural population is decreasing today, but we have adopted a policy of preventing excessive population concentration in the cities.

In capitalist countries the population is excessively concentrated in the cities; in no respect is this good In our country where socialism is being built in conditions under which capitalism did not develop well, there is no need to allow undesirable population concentration in the cities as in capitalist society. Factories should not be concentrated in the cities only, but built in different places according to the specific features of the provinces. What a splendid job it is to build factories and develop industry in all parts of our country with its beautiful mountains and rivers!

In regard to the problem of labour, there is still much extra manpower in our rural townships and workers' districts If we make effective use of this extra labour power, we will be able to run as many local industry factories as we want. This will dispense us from the construction of additional houses and hostels for the workers.

Then, what is the need of concentrating factories in the cities and taking labour power out of the countryside? Only by building many factories for the production of foodstuff, textiles, paper, etc., in each city and county, will we be able to produce plenty of goods and develop light industry with locally available raw materials and labour power without large investments, and thus allocate more state investments for the construction of power plants, iron works, railways and harbours to develop heavy industry more rapidly and push ahead with socialist construction more vigorously.

Development of local industry is very important also to strengthen the nation's defence power.

We stand face to face with the aggressors of U S imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction. We should not forget for a

moment that this wolf-like enemy is always watching for a chance to attack us.

In order to strengthen the nation's defence power, it is insufficient to reinforce the armed forces alone. To increase the country's defence potential, the proper distribution of the productive forces, taking into account the economic life of the people in wartime conditions, acquires great significance.

If factories are concentrated only in towns, it will be difficult to move them in case of emergency and they could be destroyed all at once by the enemy's air raids. However, if local industry factories are built in all parts of the country, the problems of food and clothing can be fully solved even if the centralized urban industries are destroyed by war. If each county has a soy sauce and bean paste factory, it will always have soy sauce and bean paste in reserve, and if the local factories alone produce 150 to 200 million metres of fabrics in the future, that will be sufficient to solve the problem of clothing. This will be a sizable contribution to national defence.

Therefore, the policy for extensive development of local industry set forth at the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee was really sagacious in every respect.

Guided by this policy we have built an average of 10 locally-run factories in each county in a short span of time. At present the output value of local industry accounts for more than one-half of the consumer goods produced in our country. This means that our local industry is now solidly based.

This also means that our light industry has been further developed and brought closer to the sources of raw materials and consumer areas and has been able to process farm produce and other raw materials more quickly and turn out and supply products to meet the varied requirements and needs of the inhabitants.

We have already built a foodstuff factory and a textile mill in every county. Almost every county has a farm implement factory and a paper mill. Some counties have even factories which produce furniture, earthenware and daily necessaries. The buildings of factories are also well organized.

Therefore, our demand for local industry is now fundamentally different from what it was in the past.

The task facing local industry at the time of the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee was to construct factories in every county and draw in extra local labour power to start production, thereby laying foundations for local industry; but, now, we have the task of developing local industry on a higher stage, based on the foundations already laid.

Then, what should we do to develop local industry to a higher stage, and how?

First of all, the technical revolution should be stepped up to mechanize the whole process of production and to gradually introduce automation.

With the development of local industry more raw material bases should be secured and a great deal of work expended, but some counties fail to cope with their work because of the manpower shortage.

Before, when the production capacity of local industry was small, we had to weave fabrics with treadle looms, but things have changed today.

All the processes in which handicraft methods are still employed should be mechanized through the technical revolution. All processes in local industry should be mechanized quickly even though they cannot yet be automated.

Only then, will work become easy, productivity go up and a great deal of labour power be saved. With the manpower thus saved we will have to develop local industry even more.

Mechanization is also indispensable to improve the quality of products.

Today the people's requirements have increased as never before. Immediately after the armistice, when we were short of goods people bought them without complaint although their quality was somewhat low, but now, when they go to buy a sheet of paper they want better quality, and they also want beautiful high-quality fabrics. The people are demanding goods in larger quantities and wider variety. They were satisfied with one kind of bean paste before, but now, they want different

tasty bean pastes, such as red-pepper bean paste and sesame-and-red-pepper bean paste. When we were in difficult straits, we put up with the shortage of vegetable oil, but now we want to eat more oil, and meat and milk as well.

As you see, the living standards of the people have improved and their requirements have increased so much that we should further develop local industry. We must work much harder than ever to produce more and better goods. For this there is no other way but to introduce mechanization.

It is an objective law that the more the people's living standards are improved, the greater is their demand for high-quality products. We materialists cannot be blind to such law-governed changes taking place about us. It is a major characteristic of our Party's work method to make a scientific analysis of reality and to take correct measures.

In order to meet the ever-growing needs of the people we should improve and reinforce the existing factories, build what we are lacking, and energetically step up the technical revolution to increase production and raise the quality of products.

You must not take manpower out of the countryside to build new factories. Since the mechanization of agriculture has not yet been completed, rural manpower cannot be allotted for other purposes.

Therefore, the size of factories to be constructed or enlarged should be in keeping with both the extra labour power in the county and the labour power to be saved through the mechanization of the existing factories.

In some counties there are still a large number of idle hands. As the chairman of the Sudong County Party Committee said in his speech yesterday, in coal miners' settlements and in the vicinities of ore mines and other big enterprises, not all dependants are employed in factories yet. Besides, mechanization of factories can also release much more manpower.

We still have abundant sources of manpower for the advancement of local industry. The county must actively tap its source of labour power and determine the scale of its industry based on the full calculation of its work force.

Next, the management level of local industry should be improved.

The management personnel of local industry factories have so far accumulated definite experiences in factory management.

Formerly, the functionaries of county Party committees and county people's committees had no clear idea of cost accountancy and could not calculate production cost well, but now they know how to adjust the balances, examine financial records as well as being versed in the technical processes. The technical qualifications of management personnel have been improved remarkably, but they are still far below the level required by the Party.

Therefore, our management personnel should raise their level of factory management, and the employees their technical level. All functionaries of local industry factories should be enrolled in the correspondence courses given by colleges or higher technical schools like those in Changsong County, and finish them in two or three years.

The managers, Party committee chairmen and chief engineers of local industry factories must all study. In our country there is an old saying that one cannot learn everything even if he keeps studying until the end of his days. Some comrades say there is no need for them to study because they are old and have grey hair now; you must discard this sort of thinking and all study and study again ceaselessly, raising your qualifications constantly.

In developing local industry we should devote great attention to promoting modern production practices.

If fabrics are woven neatly, dried in the sun, starched and ironed, they will be much better, but some factories do not do this. And we cannot yet say that all factories are trim and tidy.

Some people, thinking only of their wretched plight in the old days, are content with their present standard of living which is much higher than that in the past. This is a serious mistake.

We cannot be satisfied with our present living standards just because they are higher than the ones we had in the past.

Among the county Party committee chairmen present here there may also be comrades who are satisfied with the factories in their counties because they never had these factories before. But you cannot make progress that way.

In some local industry factories modern production practices are still at a low level. This defect should be quickly remedied and general production culture in all local industry factories should be raised to a high level.

First of all, foodstuff factories should be spick-and-span.

The entire factory should be neat and clean and the workers should strictly observe the health rules. Facilities should also be provided to make the work easier and to ensure hygienic conditions for the workers.

Next in importance is to build a solid raw material base for local industry. Some local industry factories have still not developed their own solid raw material bases, without which production cannot be normalized or expanded.

So, in order to further develop our local industry it is important to accelerate mechanization, raise the technical and skill levels of our cadres, workers and office staff, thoroughly establish general production culture and build solid raw material bases.

Now I shall make a few remarks concerning the tasks confronting the different branches of local industry.

First, the food industry.

It is advisable not to make the county's foodstuff factory too big. The same holds true for other factories, but the size of the foodstuff factory, in particular, should be based on detailed calculations of the county's raw materials, manpower and needs.

Because every county has its own soy sauce and bean paste factory, its production should not exceed the needs of the county. I think it preferable to have moderate-size tanks capable of storing approximately 70 days' output.

Since soy sauce and bean paste are essential items in the diet of our people, they should be tasty. Just as Europeans cannot dispense with coffee and butter, so Koreans cannot go without soy sauce and bean paste. Soy sauce and bean paste

have been indispensable items in the diet of Koreans for thousands of years.

If it is well-made, soy sauce enhances the flavour of all side dishes, but if not, it spoils them. We should make tasty soy sauce and bean paste and produce plenty of red-pepper and s[illegible] bean paste.

[illegible] in abundance to s[illegible] county and the r[illegible] curd is a favour-i[illegible]

[illegible] huge equipment t[illegible] to use a simple motor-driven [illegible] Factory turns out a large amount of bean curd with [illegible]ipment. It would be a good idea to set up small branch factories to ensure its supply for the workers' districts and distant areas.

It is also advisable for the foodstuff factory to have a shop to process milk as well as rabbit, goose and other types of meat.

With a view to the further development of animal husbandry and the increase of meat production, measures should be taken to guarantee meat processing. Speaking of meat-processing factories, you should not think of installing only big ones such as the Ryongsong Meat-processing Factory. Instead, you should install simple equipment and process meat It is preferable to preserve meat by boiling it in soy sauce, a favourite Korean side dish.

Cow's milk can also be processed easily. But in some areas milk produced by peasants is not purchased and processed in time and, as a result, the peasants' interest in its production is not high. If milk is procured and processed in good time, the peasants will produce more and the working people will have more dairy products.

Vegetables should also be processed. It is necessary to preserve radishes, cucumbers, garlic, stone-leeks, red-pepper leaves and the like in soy sauce and establish a constant supply of them to the working people.

A vegetable oil factory should be built in each county on a

somewhat large scale. It should press oil from beans, sesame, hempseed and maize embryos. It should also extract as much oil as possible from ricebran and use it to make laundry soap, and bean oil should be used for food.

We must struggle to extract at least 10,000 tons of oil from maize embryos next year.

If a small county like Changsong can extract 30 tons of vegetable oil a year, we can, by working well, certainly reach the target of 10,000 tons.

Each county should fix its production quota for vegetable oil—30, 40, 50 or 60 tons—according to its maize output and successfully carry out its plan. Thus, 10 grammes of vegetable oil per capita must be supplied to the population and 20 grammes to each worker.

At present some people say that vegetable oil is overstocked and does not sell, so they are not interested in producing more. These people do not know the facts. We still have a long way to go before we can start worrying about a surplus of vegetable oil.

Soft drink factories should also be built so that the working people can get soft drinks everywhere.

You should not only make strong wine from fruit as some counties do, but also produce and supply large quantities of syrup, fruit juice and different kinds of soft drinks. Wine should be made from fruit instead of grain.

It is of importance in all foodstuff factories to turn out well-made and hygienic products by strengthening educational work among the employees. Foodstuffs should be produced by hand as little as possible. Equipment should be reconditioned so that wine or fruit juice may be bottled automatically, not manually, thereby ensuring a high degree of cleanliness and hygienic conditions.

In some places they cook and sell fried vegetables, meat and the like when they are told to process foodstuffs; this is not food processing and is very dangerous from the sanitary point of view. It is preferable to cook and sell things such as fried vegetables and meat at restaurants. Foodstuff factories should

manufacture products that will not spoil even when stored for a long time. Thus, the products of foodstuff factories should be such that everybody can eat them at all times with a sense of security.

To this end, good personnel with an exceptionally strong sense of responsibility should be allocated to the foodstuff factories and be well taught the rules of hygiene.

*In order to increase soft drink production each of the foodstuff factories should create a raw material base comprising 50 to 100 *chongbo* of land, in accordance with the decision of the Pukchong meeting. The factory should thus produce a large amount of apricots, strawberries, plums, *aengdu* (prunus tomentosa) and other fruits on its own so that it will not lack raw materials.

In our country, fruit trees can grow everywhere. Apricots, peaches, apples, pears, *aengdu*, strawberries, etc., all grow well. In places like Changsong, from now on they should not only make use of wild fruits but plant plenty of such fruit trees and process the produced fruit in a big way.

Our country abounds in fruits which grow well, but the demands of the working people are not yet fully satisfied, because we do not plant new fruit trees with a will or take good care of those we have. In Sunan and Chungsan, for instance, many apple trees have been planted but they are not weeded well and are neglected. Chestnuts are found everywhere in our country but there are only a few places where they are tended properly. This is the same as wasting the enormous resources of our country.

We should not just plant fruit trees but should take good care of them. Existing fruit trees should be tended carefully so that various kinds of fruits are turned out abundantly in all local areas, according to the season.

Now, I should like to speak about the textile industry

Every county has a textile mill, so it is important to equip and reinforce them well.

In particular, the level of mechanization should be raised in the textile mills. Each mill should twist thin yarn and weave

good fabrics by increasing the number of weaving machines and installing twisting machines.

Since it is difficult to provide spinning machines to every textile mill, I think it preferable to build a spinning mill, with the local industry management bureau as a unit, and have it spin and distribute yarn to the textile mills.

The spinning mill should not be separate from the textile mill but should be placed under the control of the same manager. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that the spinning mill should be built at the textile mill in the area where the management bureau is located. It may be better to set up a spinning mill at the textile factory in the workers' district and run it with local extra manpower. A large-size textile mill may have its own spinning shop; in small counties such as Changsong, Sakju and Pyokdong, it would be good to set up a common spinning mill for several counties.

Locally-run textile mills should have a yearly production capacity from 400,000 to 500,000 metres per county, and from 1 to 2 million metres for big counties. Thus, the annual textile output of locally-run factories should be from 150 to 200 million metres, at least, by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

We are planning to maintain the level of 250 million metres of fabrics next year and occupy the height of 300 million metres in 1964. Then, the local industry factories will have to turn out 100 million metres of fabrics.

Therefore, the question of securing raw materials is a very important one.

Local industry factories should take more than 50 to 60 per cent of the raw materials they use from their own areas. Therefore, special attention should be directed to building solid raw material bases. Next year at least 300 to 400 *chongbo* of hemp should be planted in each county, thereby bringing 50,000 to 60,000 *chongbo* of land under hemp cultivation nationally.

But hemp should not be sown in farm land. Fibre crops such as hemp and castor bean should be planted extensively along the roadsides, at the edges of fields, around houses and in the yards of offices and enterprises. As I saw during my visit, the

compound of the Changsong Foodstuff Factory is too wide. It will do well to plant fibre crops there, leaving only a passage wide enough for a vehicle to go through.

An important task before the textile mills is to improve the quality of fabrics.

Yarn should be spun thinner and twisted to produce better textiles. Then, raw materials will not be wasted and the cloth will be attractive. The yarn spun from wild plant fibre and fibre recuperated from rags, cloth scraps and the like should be twisted as finely as possible to weave materials for overcoats and winter clothes. Flax and hemp should be used in manufacturing good fabrics for summer clothes. High-quality fabrics must be woven with state-supplied fibre, and it would be a good idea to produce silk fabrics and rainbow-patterned fabrics with rayon yarn.

Qualitative improvement of fabrics requires proper processing and treatment, including bleaching and dyeing at spinning mills. It would be difficult to provide every county with dyeing facilities. It is preferable, therefore, that the management bureau has the facilities under its control and distributes dyed yarn.

Also it would be good to build a clothing factory next to each local textile mill. Large counties may set up clothing factories separately. At any rate, each county should have more than one well-run garment factory. Each county should thus make and supply work clothes for its workers and peasants and school uniforms and overcoats for its pupils.

Now, a few words about the paper mills

Our annual paper output must reach 250,000 tons by the end of the Seven-Year Plan. To this end, local industry should account for 100,000 tons at least. The county paper mills alone, *except those in Pyongyang and in the provincial seats,* must produce 70,000 to 80,000 tons of paper.

This year the production quota of the local paper mills is 35,000 tons. You should take good care of their equipment from now and strive to bring their yearly output to something like 50,000 to 60,000 tons in the next few years.

The size of a paper mill must be established according to the raw material and manpower conditions in the different counties on the basis of the proper calculation of those conditions.

As for raw materials, straw should be used where it is abundant and plenty of ground pulp should be utilized in the mountain areas.

In our country every county has trees or straw. Since we can make 100 tons of paper out of 300 tons of straw, we can, therefore, produce more than 300 tons of paper out of only 1,000 tons of straw.

If we use too much straw, it could cause a shortage of caustic soda, so about 70 to 80 per cent of raw materials should consist of ground pulp. Therefore, it would be logical for the areas with plenty of straw to produce straw pulp and supply it to the places with plenty of trees, like Changsong County, and receive ground pulp in return.

It is not so difficult to make grinders. The grinders now being used in Changsong and Sakju can be made quite easily. Such grinders should be made and installed in various places.

If each county develops its paper industry in this way, all provinces will be able to meet their own demands for notebooks, wallpaper, floor paper, packing paper and so on.

In addition, filter, carbon, cigarette and other special kinds of paper should be made in some cities such as Pyongyang, Hamhung and Sinuiju. The Light Industry Commission should be directly concerned with this.

Each county should also have a furniture factory.

At present county furniture factories are attached to farm implement factories, and they tend to produce only farm implements and wooden frames for cold-frame rice seedlings, showing indifference to the production of furniture, such as dining tables and wardrobes. Therefore, the furniture factories should be detached from the farm implement factories, and each county should have a separate furniture factory.

Furniture factories should make wardrobes, quilt chests, small Korean-style tables for the aged to dine cross-legged and

chests favoured by housewives. And chairs, desks, writing tables, beds and the like should also be turned out.

You should make this type of furniture in the counties and supply them to the villages instead of trying to bring ready-made furniture from distant places. It would be a good idea to fix the amount of production in such a way as to satisfy the needs of the respective county. Lumber towns should make a lot of semi-finished articles and send them to other localities where they can be assembled.

Furthermore, the county should build an earthenware factory and manufacture jars, pots and crocks of different sizes and shapes, all necessary for the people's use. Pots, for instance, should come in a variety of shapes and sizes including ones to contain red-pepper bean paste and regular bean paste, with each county meeting the needs of the people. For the counties which can not build earthenware factories for lack of suitable earth, the management bureau should make proper arrangements for other counties to produce extra earthenware and send it to these counties.

Each county should also set up a maize-processing factory, a rice-cleaning mill and a factory to meet its own demands for simple articles of daily use. Furthermore, housewives' work-teams and peasants' sideline production should be organized to make straw hats, rush-mats and other local specialities as well as various grass-made articles.

Every county should begin to make preparations to fully equip, reinforce and enlarge local industry factories by May Day, 1964, so that they may attain a signal advance in production. Thus, all housewives in the townships and workers' settlements should be given jobs so as to increase the monthly income of each household of factory and office workers to something like 70 to 80 *won* or up to 100 *won*

What you must be careful about in re-equipping, expanding or newly constructing local industry factories is to push ahead with the work in a planned and organized way, on the basis of correct calculations of specific conditions and possibilities. You should not violate financial regulations by diverting funds il-

legally in a "Let's try once" manner or begin construction projects without precise calculations. The county should submit an estimate to the regional local industry management bureau after taking full account of necessary funds and materials. Then the state will supply some amount of steel, timber, cement and the like, and the factories under central authority, too, will give a defined amount of assistance to the local industry factories.

At present the province is authorized to use about 5,000 tons of cement; it is advisable to keep 2,000 tons itself and distribute the remaining 3,000 tons to the counties. Some steel and timber, too, should be distributed to each county. It is preferable to make machinery at factories under central authority. They should help local industry factories as much as possible.

When we formed the guerrilla army for the first time, we had all sorts of difficulties because we were unable to get gunpowder, not to speak of weapons. We extracted nitric acid from cow's urine to produce gunpowder and fought the Japanese imperialists. At present we have big factories, and so it is absurd to say that we cannot build local factories.

The chairmen of provincial Party committees should especially attend to their work well. If they organize their work well and work with the cadres properly, everything will go smoothly.

Proper work with cadres does not mean to replace the present county Party committee chairmen with other people. They should be educated well and fully roused to action. The chairmen of county Party committees cannot do anything when they are ignorant.

The provincial Party committee chairmen should educate the county Party committee chairmen well, taking them along on inspection tours. If they go along with county Party committee chairmen for an inspection by train, say, on Saturday and come back on Sunday, it will not interfere with their work on the following day. They should be shown, for example, a paper mill, a machine-building plant, a meat-processing factory,

the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Pyongyang Textile Mill and so on.

Some county Party committee chairmen worked at factories before, but that was a thing of the past. Only when they see the huge modern factories of today can they be enlightened. It is good to study by reading books but it is still better to learn from realities. Just as you have learned much from this week-long stay here in Changsong, so should you see and learn more, making tours of various places. If the provincial Party committee chairmen properly set county Party committee chairmen on the move and if the latter rouse the masses to action skilfully, all the problems in the local areas will be solved successfully.

3. ON THE RURAL ECONOMY

The most important of all questions we are discussing now is that of rapidly improving the living standards of the peasants in mountain areas In order to do this, there is no alternative but to produce more grain by making good use of the existing land under cultivation and to develop animal husbandry by utilizing the mountains.

Only by developing animal husbandry can we increase the cash income of the peasants and produce enough compost to raise our grain output; and only by increasing grain output can we expand our fodder sources for domestic animals and further develop animal husbandry. Therefore, in the mountainous rural areas it is particularly important to take advantage of mountains to raise a great number of grass-eating domestic animals such as sheep, goats, calves, geese and rabbits.

Each agricultural co-operative in the mountain areas should strive to breed at least 200 head of sheep. Even in flatland areas, such as Sinchon, South Hwanghae Province, there are quite a few co-operatives which have hills. These co-operatives should also raise sheep. Each co-operative should raise sheep in propor-

tion to the number of its farm households—300 head for 300 households and 500 head for 500 households.

Sheep are highly profitable domestic animals that can be bred quite easily with grass alone. Sheep like bush clover, hazel leaves and oak leaves. Cut grass and dry it, and you can chop it to feed them in the winter. One head of sheep brings an income of 150 *won* a year. Marvelous!

Sheep can also be raised well in Ryanggang Province, but they do not raise many there. This province is certainly not short of grass. After all, it lacks enthusiasm. The province and the counties have not organized the work and failed to make strenuous efforts to raise the income of the peasants.

Along with sheep, calves should also be bred in large numbers. If a calf is grazed in a valley for one summer, it grows as much as 70 kilogrammes in weight, which brings you an income of 100 *won*.

Our experiments show that it is quite possible to raise geese with grass only. We can earn 70 to 80 *won* a year from a goose by selling her eggs and raising the goslings for the market. Geese breed at a much higher rate than sheep. Each agricultural co-operative should breed enough geese so that each farm household may have a goose within two to three years.

It is also advisable to raise many rabbits and two pigs per farm household.

You should carry out farm work such as compost production and weeding ahead of schedule through proper organization of labour and save as much labour power as possible by widening the scope of mechanization. The manpower thus saved should be used to gather wild fruits, plant medicinal herbs and raise silkworms in order to increase cash income.

You should thus see to it that the average per-household income of the peasants in mountain areas amounts to three tons of grain and over 1,000 *won* in cash, thereby raising the living standards of all peasants, if possible, or 80 per cent of them at least, to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry by 1964.

Now, I would like to tell you about our immediate farm tasks and those confronting the rural economy next year.

The weather was very adverse this year. We had damages from frost, blight and insect pests; we had a severe drought followed by a long spell of rain and repeated floods We also suffered considerable losses from the recent typhoon and flood

If we had not far-sightedly carried out irrigation works, forestation and water conservation projects, we would have had a very bad crop in a year like this. Thanks to the establishment of a fine irrigation system in our country and the united struggle of all the peasants and working people, we can reap a bumper harvest again this year, overcoming all sorts of natural calamities.

We should not feel satisfied, however. We have not yet reached the 5 million-ton level. On your return to your posts after this meeting, you must take thorough measures to prevent storm and flood damages, stretching straw ropes between crops to prevent the wind from knocking them down and digging deep ditches for drainage. You must also plant and carefully cultivate vegetables and buckwheat as well as after-crop maize in the lands where crops were washed away by the flood.

Measures should also be taken as of now to harvest crops as soon as they ripen. Today our people busy themselves planting and tending crops, but once the crops are ripe, they do not take good care of them. We should correct this defect as soon as possible and pay profound attention not only to harvesting ripe crops in due time but also to thrashing them well, storing and looking after them carefully, so as not to lose even a single grain of cereal.

The task in next year's struggle is to consolidate the successes attained in grain production this year, and, on this basis, make preparations for reaching a new, higher peak in the future. We should produce 3 million tons of rice in the future so that all the people in the northern half can eat rice for their daily meals. In order to scale this new height, it is necessary to make full preparations for next year.

First of all, the area of paddyfields should be expanded We should bring approximately 30,000 *chongbo* of land under

rice cultivation next year and then turn another 30,000 *chongbo* into rice paddies by the spring of 1964, thus increasing the area of paddyfields to 600,000 *chongbo* in 1964.

We should increase the area of irrigated paddies and our irrigation facilities for dry fields. To do so, 6,000 to 7,000 water pumps should be sent to the countryside so that every tractor may have one attached to it to lift water. Water should be lifted by tractor-driven pumps in two or three stages; in this way we should irrigate even sloping fields.

Besides, to increase the level of mechanization next year more than 3,000 tractors and over 1,000 trucks should be sent to the countryside. Larger amounts of chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and weed killers should also be supplied.

Agricultural co-operatives should produce large amounts of compost. In the flatland areas such as Sinchon and Chaeryong where the sources of grass are limited, coal should be used as fuel and, instead, rice straw should be chopped to make compost in large quantities, and peat should also be dug up actively.

We should, in this way, continue to hold fast to the production goal of 5 million tons of grain for a year or two and, at the same time, improve the percentage composition of better grains.

Furthermore, bean and other oil-bearing crops should be planted widely so we can produce more vegetable oil.

Animal husbandry should be developed to produce more meat.

Orchards should be well tended so we can produce more fruit.

Besides, beginning this year 100,000 modern dwellings should be built every year in the countryside to renew the look of our rural villages. Build houses for another 300,000 to 400,000 families, and almost all our peasants will be living in tile-roofed houses, I reckon.

Then the long-cherished desire of the Koreans, that is, to live in plenty in tile-roofed houses, eating rice and meat soup and wearing silk clothes, will become a reality.

The struggle for accomplishing this centuries-old desire of our people is a really worthwhile and honourable one. We must succeed in carrying out this honourable task before us by waging a vigorous struggle.

4. ON EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL WORK

The work of school education must be conducted properly in order to intensify the struggle against outmoded practices and to accelerate the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

Now we have compulsory secondary education and are making preparations for the enforcement of compulsory technical education, which has already been put into effect in many counties.

However, the counties still fail to give deep attention to the proper management of schools and to the preparatory work for the enforcement of the compulsory technical education system.

Graduates from schools will all go to work at local industry factories and agricultural co-operatives in the future. Therefore, the fulfilment of the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside depends largely upon whether or not the pupils have been educated at school properly.

Pupils must be encouraged to study hard and keep their schools neat and clean. They should also be taught to practise good manners and make a clean personal appearance

Only in this way, can they fully play their role as educated and cultured persons of a new type when they are launched into society after their graduation from school. Those who have received good training at school will keep public establishments, dwellings, clubs and the like spick-and-span and make an effort to lead their daily life in a modern way.

The pupils of some schools now wear their clothes, caps and Young Pioneers' scarves carelessly.

All this, we can say, is the result of the lack of concern for school work on the part of the county Party committees and county people's committees.

At schools, education should be correctly linked with productive labour. The pupils should not be overworked. This would affect their studies and their physical growth. But moderate physical labour is indispensable. You should engage them in appropriate productive labour which will be useful to their education.

Pupils should learn which trees grow fast and where different kinds of trees are used while planting and tending them. Raising rabbits or sheep, they should also learn the habits of domestic animals and what they eat best.

Small plots of paddy and dry fields should be allotted to schools so that pupils cultivate them and acquire an elementary knowledge of farming—how to transplant rice-seedlings, how to plant maize and what kind of manure to apply to which land.

Deep attention should also be given to the development of the physical strength of the pupils and to their emotional education. We should also teach them technical know-how so that all of them will be able to handle simple machines.

All pupils should, in this way, be reared into versatile men of a new type, into competent builders of a new society.

The counties should build more schools and pay more attention to the students' life. Why can't you build schools when you can build 100,000 modern dwellings every year in the countryside? Schools should be built by all means even at the cost of some rural modern dwellings. All the 2.5 million students constitute our precious rising generation. The more we do for them, the better.

Next year we should produce more vinyl chloride so that all our students will have footwear, schoolbags and raincoats made of vinyl.

This year overcoats should be supplied to the pupils in all counties; spring and autumn uniforms should also be made for them next year.

Furthermore, the counties should build up hospitals and

clubs modernly and hygienically. They should set up more pediatric wards and maternity homes at the county hospitals and, particularly, beautify the county seats further. Thus, every county should be built up well in a modern and hygienic way so as to become a Model Hygienic County by August 15 next year.

5. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK

First, let me tell you about strengthening the guidance the provincial Party committees give to industry and the role of the factory Party committees.

The main cause of the defects revealed in the course of this year's struggle for scaling the six heights lies in Party work.

As I have emphasised time and again, our industry has now undergone a qualitative change as compared with the past, both in scale and in the level of technical development. Today it is absolutely impossible for a minister or a management-bureau director to rely only on his personal knowledge in the management of our industry which has developed in a diversified way and grown considerably in size. Efficient management of our industry requires collective Party leadership. The provincial Party committee should take direct responsibility for industry and give it leadership, and it should rouse the factory Party committees to action and get all Party members on the move.

This question cannot be solved simply by reorganising a ministry or appointing knowledgeable men to the post of a minister or a management-bureau director. In order to do work revolutionarily, it is necessary, after all, to rouse the Party organizations to action and to rely on the Party members and the revolutionary working class.

The Hwanghae Iron Works is located near Pyongyang, and so many cadres from the central bodies visit it. Recently, it is said, the director of the metal management bureau made a pro-

longed visit to the Hwanghae Iron Works. Nevertheless, the Hwanghae Iron Works is repeating the same errors it committed in 1959, but no one has been able to correct them.

However often he may go personally to give guidance to a factory, no individual can ever solve the problems without bringing its Party committee into action. The main reason for the poor work in the Hwanghae Iron Works lies in the defective work of the factory Party committee. If the factory Party committee had been well acquainted with the Party policies, it would not have blindly followed the wrong directives sent down from the ministry and would have saved the situation in time.

Lenin blasted to smithereens the Menshevik manoeuvrings to turn the Party of the working class into a sort of club; he made the Party a militant and organized detachment with iron discipline and developed the leadership of the Party organizations to play the role of the general staff of the revolution. It is impossible to win victory in a fierce battle against the enemy if the general staff is not sufficiently strong.

Production is also a battle. For successful production it is necessary, first of all, to efficiently build up the factory Party committee, the general staff of the factory, and strengthen its role.

The greatest advantage of the collective leadership of the Party committee lies in the fact that it can accurately perform the role of a helmsman by formulating a correct line of struggle embodying the Party policies, based on a comprehensive understanding of all conditions in the factory and in the fact that it can properly mobilize all the Party organizations, Party members, working people's organizations and all the workers of the factory to struggle for the implementation of the Party's policies.

In order to ensure the collective leadership of the Party committee satisfactorily, it is of primary importance that the Party committee itself should be made up properly. The Party committee should be composed of the core elements who resolutely defend the Party's policies, who are well-versed in the actual conditions of the major factory departments and who can

fully reflect the views of broad sections of Party members and working masses. Therefore, Party functionaries, administrative and management personnel, technicians and core workers should all be included in the Party committee.

The Party committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works is not made up properly. It is not composed of Party core activists but of shop representatives selected on an equal basis from various shops. Thus, the factory Party committee included a telephone-operator and the head of the clinic. Of course, these comrades are all good, hard-working people, but they do not play a central role in production. The provincial Party committee that approved this composition of the factory Party committee is also to blame.

The workers who directly handle the machines know production better than anyone else. When the work was not going properly at the Hwanghae Iron Works, the workers submitted their opinions. However, their leaders did not readily accept their valid opinions.

If it had been well-organized and had done its work properly, the Party committee would have accepted the reasonable opinions of the workers immediately and taken appropriate measures, and could have closely linked the revolutionary spirit of the workers with the scientific knowledge of the technicians. Also, it could have advanced its correct views to the Central Committee in time, instead of blindly following the directives of the ministry.

However, the Party committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works failed to act as helmsman nor did it successfully bring into play the creativity of the Party members and the working masses.

When I visited the Hwanghae Iron Works in 1959, I found at first that the work was too spread out, but I could not find specific defects. However, many things were brought to light in the course of rousing the Party organizations to action and from talking with the Party members and workers. The workers stressed that the cause of unsatisfactory work should be sought not outside but inside the factory, and pointed to

many grave defects—there was no one to repair open-hearth furnaces because the workers of the repair and maintenance shop had all been transferred to construction work; steel production did not go on smoothly because many furnaces were operated incorrectly when they had not enough gas and so on. We paid attention to the voices of these comrades and took corrective measures, having clearly understood the shortcomings of the Hwanghae Iron Works.

The Party committee should be built up with the workers who can speak straight from the shoulder about production problems, and an atmosphere should be created in which they can always express their views freely.

The open-hearth shop is the most central link in the Hwanghae Iron Works, but the core workers of the shop have only two representatives in the Party committee. This is too small a number. There is no doubt that if five to six comrades from the open-hearth shop had been on the Party committee, they would have put forth many opinions, which would have greatly helped the committee to play its role of helmsman.

You must not neglect your work with intellectuals on the ground that we should rely on the revolutionary spirit of the working class. What is important is that the factory Party committee should properly lead the intellectuals and workers to help each other. Intellectuals have technique and knowledge, but are inclined more or less to conservatism. Workers have a strong revolutionary spirit but they lack knowledge. The factory Party committee should go deeply among the intellectuals and workers and give guidance in such a way as to correctly combine the scientific knowledge of the intellectuals with the revolutionary spirit of the working class. It is also the duty of the general staff to perform this sort of co-ordination. The Hwanghae Iron Works Party Committee has failed to do this work satisfactorily.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the provincial Party committee in industrial production we built up its economic departments well, and during the recent guidance to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, we took radical measures for considerably expanding the apparatuses of the factory Party com-

mittees and strengthening their leadership. Therefore, all questions would have been settled smoothly, if the provincial Party committee had roused the factory Party committee to action and if the factory Party committee, firmly adhering to the Party's policies, had properly organized the implementation of these policies, relying upon the core elements of the Party and the working class. But it worked only with some administrative cadres instead of with the Party organizations and Party members; as a result, things went awry. The only way to mobilize the creativity of the masses is for the Party to set forth a correct line of struggle and to set all the Party organizations on the move, strengthening the vanguard role of the Party members for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

The masters of the factory are the factory Party committee, all the Party members and workers. It is fundamentally wrong not to rely on the masters of the factory in work.

Working only with the manager and the chief engineer will get you nowhere. It was a great mistake that the Heavy Industry Commission called up only managers and chief engineers for a joint conference and did not summon chairmen of the factory Party committees and active workers In guiding the factory you must get the factory Party committee and the Party members of the factory on the move.

I have said that the Party committee should stay aft and play a steering role instead of taking upon itself administrative work. Then, there have appeared such detrimental practices as simply spouting empty phrases from behind without knowing anything about how production is proceeding. A resolute struggle must be waged against this tendency. What Party work can the factory Party committee do apart from production? The factory Party committee represents the highest level of production leadership at the factory. The Party committee should deal directly with the organization and mobilization of activities related to production.

The factory Party committee must hold collective discussions on all important problems related to production, formulate correct policies and measures, acquire a detailed understanding

of the state of production affairs, lead and supervise production all the time so that the Party's policy can be fully carried out in production; it must conduct the organizational work of mobilizing the Party members and working masses for the implementation of the Party's policy. If you fail to do this and only give scoldings from behind, that is a far cry from guidance.

The Party committee should work not only with the manager and the chief engineer but also with the Party activists, and with the working masses so that they may fully carry out the Party's policy.

The manager and the chief engineer should assume the responsibility for carrying out Party committee decisions.

It is the Party committee that directs production and bears the responsibility for production. The Party committee should be responsible for all affairs of the factory. That the Party should not take upon itself administrative work means that the Party committee should not substitute the manager and the chief engineer in the technical guidance of production, but it does not mean that it should stop guiding production. The main task of the factory Party committee is to give correct guidance to production.

The department of heavy industry of the provincial Party committee should also improve its method of work. It is a difficult job for an instructor of this department to lead all the work of a given factory. Guidance to a factory can be given only through the factory Party committee. Through its instructor, the provincial Party committee should be constantly in touch with production conditions at the factory, assure that the factory Party committee is acquainted with the Party's policy and rouse it to action. The provincial Party committee should, above all, have its influence over the factory Party committee. It should properly guide the work of activating the Party organizations and working people's organizations, such as the trade unions and the Democratic Youth League organizations in the factory, and of organizing and mobilizing the Party members and the working people. That the provincial Party committee should have control of industry means, in the final anal-

ysis, that it should properly keep the factory Party committee on the move to ensure production.

If the provincial Party committee, instead of doing such work, digs out the defects of the lower units, reports them to the ministry and waits for it to solve everything, nothing will be solved.

The ministry should be responsible primarily for giving technical guidance and supplying materials. Direct guidance to production and the work of mobilizing the working masses should be conducted by the provincial Party committee through the factory Party committee.

But the Party work system has not yet been fully established in the guidance of industry. The provincial Party committee fails to rouse the factory Party committee to action properly, and the factory Party committee plays its role as the general staff for the guidance of production unsatisfactorily. Hence, what is most important in the struggle for scaling the six heights is to intensify the Party guidance of industry.

Once the Party organizations are roused to full activity, nothing is impossible. Work goes well in Changsong because the activities of the Party organizations are in full swing.

When we were here last year, we visited the Yaksu Middle School and assigned to them the task of teaching all the pupils to play a musical instrument. It was a very difficult task, and in order to carry it out, I was told, the school Party cell held a number of meetings. At the meetings they discussed the matter seriously and came to the conclusion that in order to teach the pupils to play musical instruments, the teachers themselves had to learn how to play them first, so all the teachers started learning how to play musical instruments as a Party assignment. The chief of school affairs zealously learned how to play the piano during night hours; all the teachers made great efforts to learn how to play musical instruments. Then, the teachers taught the pupils how to play them. When a Party organization works like this, there is nothing that can stop us.

When you go back to your places of work after this meeting, the provincial Party committee chairmen should, first of

all, re-examine the composition of the factory Party committees and give their main attention to increasing their fighting capacity.

During our guidance visit to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant we laid special emphasis on strengthening the role of the factory Party committee. Many factories have still not introduced the new Taean work system. If you work as required by this system, everything will go well. The provincial Party committee chairmen must wage an energetic struggle to establish the Taean work system in all spheres in order to push ahead successfully with the struggle to reach the six heights.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few remarks on the work of the county Party committee.

The experience of Changsong County shows that success in all county work is due primarily to the proper work of the county Party committee. When the leading functionaries accept the Party's policies from the bottom of their hearts and persistently strive for their implementation with a firm will, there is nothing which is beyond their capacity. The Party organizations should thoroughly explain and bring home the Party's policies to the masses and organize and mobilize them for their implementation.

Furthermore, the leading functionaries should always stand in the van of the masses and lead them forward, setting practical examples in all work.

The Changsong County Party Committee properly explained and propagated the Party policies among the masses and actively mobilized them. As the experiences of the Changsong and Sakju County Party Committees show, all the masses can be activated when Party organizational and political work is conducted well and the leading functionaries stand in the van.

Whether the work of the county goes well or not depends entirely upon its Party committee.

If the county Party committee, as the organ of collective leadership, as the general staff of the county, disseminates the Party's policies adequately and executes organizational work

effectively, taking hold of all fronts and all spheres of county work, with the cadres marching in the lead, all problems will be solved.

The county Party committee is the lowest organ that assumes the direct responsibility for all county work, including the rural economy, and organizes, leads and implements it. The county Party committee also bears the direct responsibility for the living standards of the workers, peasants and all the other inhabitants of the county.

The county Party committee should, therefore, properly lead the county people's committee and the county agricultural co-operative management committee, steer all branches well, rally the masses around the Party and get all of them on the move.

Moreover, work should be organized and carried out in a revolutionary way. Work once started must be carried to the end, come what may, through vigorous struggle. Work should not be done in a hit-or-miss way.

Success in our work depends, in the last analysis, on whether the masses are fully roused to action or not. The county Party committee, continuously embodying the Chongsan-*ri* method in all work, should always go to the masses, hear and meet their demands, discuss with them and take them by the hand.

We have always won victories in the past, and will win more victories in the future. However, we should not be elated with the victories and successes already achieved but should march on and on. We should put an end to indolence and slackness. We should lead a frugal life and dedicate our all to the resolute struggle for the revolution.

I firmly believe that you comrades will fully carry out the tasks set forth at this meeting, and thereby bring about a radical change in the political, economic and cultural advancement of our counties.

ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Speech Delivered at the First Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly

October 23, 1962

Comrade Deputies,

The elections of the deputies to the Third Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were held triumphantly in the midst of a great political upsurge, in the inspiring atmosphere of the labour campaign to reach this year's six main goals.

The participation of all our working people as one man in the Supreme People's Assembly elections with a great political enthusiasm showed their unyielding determination to firmly safeguard and further consolidate and develop our people's power and socialist achievements and to carry through to victory the revolutionary cause of socialism and communism in our country. The election results have shown our people's absolute support and trust in the Workers' Party and people's power; they have demonstrated the unbreakable political and moral unity of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance.

The support and trust our people have placed in the Party and in their state power as well as the political and moral cohesion of our society are the fruits of the long, hard struggle for our country's freedom and independence and for the building

of a new life. They are also based on material foundations—the socialist system established in the northern half of the Republic and the free, happy life of our people under that system.

The Korean people fought long and valiantly for national independence and liberation, for their own sovereignty. In the grimmest period of Japanese imperialist rule the Communists and the patriotic people of Korea waged a heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle for 15 years solely for the restoration of the fatherland and the freedom of the people, braving all kinds of indescribable hardship and suffering. After liberation our people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, took power firmly in their hands, upsetting all the machinations by the forces of foreign aggression and local reaction.

Our people's power is a sovereign power that has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the Communists and patriotic people of Korea; it is a great achievement, won by our people through hard struggle under the leadership of our Party. Ours is a genuine people's power that serves the people devotedly and maintains close ties of kinship with them; it is the most democratic and stable power, which relies on the united strength of the workers, peasants and the rest of the people and actively draws the broad popular masses into state affairs.

Led by a Marxist-Leninist Party and having taken power firmly into their own hands, our people are invincible.

Since liberation, our people have gone through many trials and hardships in the struggle to build a new life. Our country took over a backward economy and culture from the old society; on top of this, it was reduced to ashes during the bitter three-year war. With our country split into northern and southern halves, we are building socialism and fighting for reunification, standing face to face with the U.S. imperialists, the ringleader of world reaction. Our enemies of all hues at home and abroad have never stopped plotting to cause dissension in our ranks and hold back our progress.

However, under the experienced Marxist-Leninist leader-

ship of our Party and relying on the indestructible vitality of people's power, our people have carried out great revolutionary tasks and tremendous works of construction and have created a wonderful new social system and a new life in a historically brief time span, heroically surmounting all trials and difficulties.

Their experience of life-and-death struggles has firmly convinced our people of the correctness of our Party's policies and the vitality of their own state power. In the Party's lines and policies they see the road to their future victories and, in the people's power and the socialist system they have achieved under the leadership of the Party, they see the source of their freedom and happiness.

The Chollima Movement, the great driving force of socialist construction in our country, is the most concentric expression of the surging revolutionary spirit, untiring determination to fight, and unlimited creative powers of our people who are rallied with a rock-like unity around the Party and the Government, placing their full trust in the Party, boundlessly valuing their state power and the social system, and dynamically advancing towards a brighter future.

No force can ever impair the unshakable dignity and prestige enjoyed by our Party among the masses, wrest from our people their state power and socialist achievements, or halt their great march forward toward the victory of socialism and communism.

1

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct policy of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and to the heroic struggle of our people, our society has completely eliminated the backwardness and poverty of centuries and made a great leap

forward toward progress and civilization in the last four or five years. We have altered mountains and rivers of our country and radically transformed our socio-economic system, and have brought about tremendous changes in all aspects of our people's material and spiritual life.

An advanced socialist system free of exploitation and oppression has been firmly established in the northern half of the Republic. Life has clearly shown that our state and economic systems are the most rational and superior forms for our country's present stage of development. With the rapid progress of socialist construction, our socialist system is further consolidating and developing with each passing day, bringing ever greater advantages.

We have not only established an excellent social system but have also laid firm foundations for building up our country's economy on our own.

It was a particularly important and yet difficult task to build the foundations of an independent national economy in our country which had been a backward agrarian colony in the past. We have successfully fulfilled this task by maximum mobilization of the strength of our people and all our domestic resources on the principle of self-reliance along with the most rational use of aid from fraternal countries.

To consolidate the economic independence of the country we must first rapidly develop industry, particularly heavy industry.

In our country industrial production has grown at an unprecedentedly high tempo and we have completely eliminated our industry's colonial lopsidedness and backwardness.

In 1961 alone our industry produced many more goods than in the ten years after liberation, that is, in the whole period from 1946 to 1955. Thanks to the rapid growth of industrial output, the share of industry in the total value of industrial and agricultural output had already reached 71 per cent in 1960.

The metal and chemical industries have developed rapidly. We have consolidated the fuel and electric power bases of the country and have created our own machine-building industry.

Our heavy industry has been equipped with new technology and has further expanded; relying mainly on domestic raw materials and other natural resources for its development, it is in a position to satisfy most of our needs for the various means of production, including machines and other equipment.

Thus, the task of laying the foundations of socialist industrialization in our country has been successfully completed. We have established a solid framework for a modern heavy industry which constitutes the basis for the country's political and economic independence and is capable of equipping all branches of the national economy with modern technology.

In the field of light industry, our Party brought about great innovation in the production of consumer goods for the people with its policy of developing small- and medium-scale locally-run industries side by side with the large-scale industries under central authority.

The large-scale light industry factories have been greatly expanded, their technical equipment has been improved, and an average of more than ten local industry factories have been built in every city and county throughout the country. In addition, we now have our own stable sources of raw materials for light industry.

We have built strong production bases in light industry which now enable us to satisfy by ourselves much of our people's requirements for consumer goods and which, in the future, will be able to supply the population with a greater abundance of different types of high-quality goods.

The problem of agriculture, especially of grain production, has been one of the most difficult we have had to face in building a socialist economy in our country.

Arable land is scarce in our country and the greater part of it is hilly and poor. Our country is hit by drought almost every year and frequently suffers damage from storms and floods. Moreover, our agriculture, which had been originally very backward technically and economically, was severely devastated during the war.

However, by transforming nature through extensive irrigation, afforestation and water conservation projects and by steadily developing our farming techniques, we overcame these handicaps, successfully solved the food problem, and laid solid foundations for the rapid development of all branches of agriculture.

Grain output has shown a high yearly rate of increase. In 1961 it reached 4,830,000 tons, that is to say, 1,000,000 tons more than in the previous year. Up to two or three years ago we had to import hundreds of thousands of tons of grain annually from foreign countries, but now we have achieved self-sufficiency in food grains.

Today, irrigation canals ramify over the fields in our country and agriculture is being further equipped with new technology. Our peasants have not only been freed from exploitation and oppression, but are also being protected from natural calamities and gradually released from toilsome labour.

All these successes in the development of our national economy show the correctness of our Party's economic policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry and, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. They represent a splendid victory for our Party's consistent line of building an independent national economy.

Only by ensuring the growth of heavy industry in the first place, with the machine-building industry as its core, have we been able to develop light industry and agriculture rapidly, raise the people's living standards steadily, and lay the material and technical foundations for the overall technological reconstruction of the national economy. Only by sticking firmly to the line of building an independent national economy have we been able to transform our country into a powerful socialist industrial-agricultural state in such a short time, eliminating the backwardness inherited from the old society. Furthermore, we have been able to lay our own solid economic foundations for increasing the wealth and power of the country and enriching the life of the people.

The cultural revolution is one of the important tasks in the

construction of socialism. Especially when socialism is being built in a backward country, it is necessary to step up the cultural revolution more vigorously.

Thanks to the constant concern of our Party and Government, our people have made enormous achievements in building a new, socialist culture.

In the field of education we have completely done away with the survivals of the old society and established the most advanced educational system adapted to the requirements of socialist construction.

Compulsory secondary school education has been introduced universally and a great number of secondary and higher specialized technical schools and institutions for higher education have been set up. The network of evening and correspondence courses has particularly been expanded and a large number of factory colleges and communist colleges have been established, thus enabling many working people to receive a higher education without stopping their productive activities.

In our country there are now more than 2.6 million students studying at over 8,900 schools of all levels, including 93 institutes of higher education. Of this total, as many as 209,000 are college and university students.

In addition, more than one million workers and peasants are acquiring general knowledge in the working people's schools and working people's middle schools and all the working people are learning new technology.

Indeed, all people in our country are studying and making progress; all the working people are mastering science and technology, becoming educated and cultured builders of a new society.

As a result of the rapid development of secondary and higher technical education, we have already trained a large contingent of more than 160,000 technical cadres of our nation and their ranks are steadily increasing year by year.

Had our Party and Government not made great efforts and taken far-sighted measures to rapidly develop public education, raise the general cultural and technical levels of the working

people and produce many national cadres from the period immediately following liberation, we would not have been able either to lay the foundations of an independent national economy or to ensure a high rate of socialist construction. By giving priority to education and cadre training despite all difficulties, we have created favourable conditions for administering the state and managing the economy efficiently on our own, and for developing our society at an exceptionally high rate.

In the realm of science, splendid research achievements are also constantly being registered. The scientists and technicians of our country are making great contributions to the development of the national economy and the promotion of the people's well-being by such numerous successes as the completion of vinalon research, the solution of the problem of gasifying anthracite, research on semi-conductors and the discovery of new methods for the treatment of different diseases.

Keeping pace with the times of Chollima, our literature and art have also entered the period of full bloom. Thanks to our Party's correct policy in this field and the vigorous creative activities of the writers and artists inspired by this policy, are developing rapidly in our country revolutionary literature and art which faithfully serve the popular masses.

Literature and art are enjoyed by all the people in our country, and there is very broad participation of workers, peasants and the rest of the masses in creative activity in this field. Indeed, our literature and art now belong to the popular masses and are powerful weapons inspiring them in the struggle to build a new society.

The rapid development of the socialist economy has brought about further improvement in the material and cultural life of our people.

By 1961 the real wages of factory and office workers were 2.1 times those of 1956. In the same period the peasants' income in cash and kind increased 1.6 times and their overall standard of living reached that of middle or well-to-do middle peasants in the past.

With the extensive housing construction, the dwelling con-

ditions of the working people have greatly improved. In only five years, from 1957 to 1961, we built new dwellings with a total floor space of 7.6 million square metres in urban areas and 5.8 million square metres in rural areas.

Today, our working people are free from any worry about food, clothing and housing and all of them now enjoy a secure life. This means that we have solved the most basic problems in the daily life of our people.

In addition, the working people receive enormous material and cultural benefits from the state. Having abolished tuition fees in all schools, the state provides free education and even gives scholarships to the students in institutes of higher education and specialized schools. A system of vacations with pay has been introduced for factory and office workers, and every year hundreds of thousands of working people enjoy a pleasant time in holiday homes at state expense; and everyone receives the benefits of free medical care. Numerous nurseries and kindergartens set up and run at state and public expense are creditably bringing up more than 1,000,000 children, providing the conditions for women to participate in social labour. Disabled people, old people with no one to rely on, and orphans are all guaranteed a secure life by the state.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule when we lost our country and were deprived of our sovereignty, our working people were badly-clothed and starving under double and even triple exploitation and oppression; countless people, unable to make their own living, roamed about begging.

Under the power of the people and the socialist system, however, the life of our working people has radically changed. In one half of the country we have built a new life in which the entire working population, free from exploitation and poverty, live without any worry, working and studying together, helping each other forward for the happiness of all. This is a great change in the history of our country and in the life of our people.

2

Comrades,

The historic Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea summed up the shining victories of our people in the socialist revolution and in the construction of socialism and set the impressive goals of the Seven-Year Plan.

By carrying out full-scale technical and cultural revolutions during the period of the Seven-Year Plan, we will build the solid material and technical foundations of socialism and radically raise the people's material and cultural standards.

Today, socialist construction in our country has entered a new and higher stage.

For the end of the Five-Year Plan period, our main task was to lay the foundations of socialism and to transform our backward agrarian country into an independent socialist industrial-agricultural state. To carry out this task we concentrated all efforts on completing socialist transformation in town and countryside, laying the foundations for socialist industrialization, and substantially solving the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

Our main task in the Seven-Year Plan period is to further accelerate socialist construction and turn our country into a socialist industrial state with a modern industry and developed agriculture. By thoroughly carrying out socialist industrialization in this period, we will equip all branches of the national economy with modern technology and reach the high level of development of the productive forces characteristic of an advanced socialist society; we should not only solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people more satisfactorily, but enable everyone to live a rich and cultured life.

If the period of the Five-Year Plan was the one in which the great tree of socialism took deep root and its trunk grew

strong, then we can call the Seven-Year Plan a period in which the tree will grow, blossom beautifully, and bear fine fruit.

When the Seven-Year Plan is fulfilled, all spheres of the new socialist life will really be in full flower.

Our industry will develop in a diversified way and will be more fully equipped with new technology. Different kinds of machines, equipment and other means of production, as well as different high-quality consumer goods, will be produced in far greater quantities. As a result of the technological modernization of agriculture, we will achieve a decisive increase in the output of all farm produce, including grain and animal products, and free the peasants from backbreaking toil.

We will build more beautiful towns and villages and all our people will live as well as other peoples.

The construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic is in harmony with the vital interests of the people not just in the north but in the entire nation. The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will strengthen the revolutionary base in the northern half and make it invincible; it will open up a decisive phase in achieving the peaceful reunification of our country. By fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan we shall also lay more solid material foundations for quickly rehabilitating the south Korean economy and for radically improving the living conditions of the people there in the future.

Thus, our Seven-Year Plan is an impressive programme for the construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic. At the same time, it is a great national programme for building a reunified, independent, rich and powerful Korea and for ensuring the future happiness of 30 million Koreans. This is why all the working people in the northern half are showing extraordinary revolutionary zeal and patriotic devotion for the fulfilment of this programme and why the entire Korean people are most interested in its realization.

As was clearly outlined by our Party and the Government of the Republic, in the first half of the Seven-Year Plan we will work hard to put flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry, use it more effectively and, on this basis, speedily develop agri-

culture and light industry and radically improve the people's living conditions. In the latter half of the Plan we will put major emphasis on radically reinforcing the material and technical foundations of socialism by expanding centres of heavy industry and improving their technological equipment while continuing to better the people's living conditions.

We have already taken a big step forward towards the fulfilment of the first half of the Seven-Year Plan. Always responding faithfully to the call of the Party, our working people showed their unlimited creativity and talents in all fields of socialist construction and successfully fulfilled the national economic plan for 1961—the first year of the Seven-Year Plan—and are performing brilliant feats of labour in their struggle to reach this year's six heights.

The national economic plan for this year has the six heights, as its main targets, a tremendous and difficult programme envisaging a high rate of growth in industrial and agricultural production.

Over two months still remain before the end of the year, but we can say with confidence that we have already won a decisive victory in the battle to conquer the six heights.

Agriculture plays a very important part in economic construction under socialism. Only when we bring in good harvests will we have enough to eat and will everything go well in the economic life of the country. The target of 5 million tons of grain is the most important of this year's six heights.

We struggled under totally adverse weather conditions to reach this height of production. This year our country was struck by a severe drought, followed by a long rainy spell that lasted more than three months and caused four big floods. In addition, we suffered damage from frost, blight, harmful insects, and typhoons. Indeed, we might say this was the year in which our agriculture suffered the nature's worst trials.

But our socialist agriculture has successfully overcome these difficulties. Not only has this year's grain output not fallen compared to last year's but we have reaped an unusual bumper harvest in the countryside.

The fact that we have harvested successive bumper crops in recent years and, moreover, have done so again in a year like this one, proves that our agricultural production is not affected by varying weather or other chance factors but, instead, like industrial production, it grows soundly and steadily according to the laws of the development of socialist economy.

This brilliant victory in agriculture represents a victory for our Party's agricultural policy—a victory of the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method in the countryside. Above all, this clearly shows the superiority of the socialist system of co-operative economy established in our rural areas, the solid material and technical foundations of our agriculture and, in particular, the strength of the irrigation system, afforestation and water conservation facilities which have been built up by the supreme efforts of the Party, the state and the entire people. This has also been made possible because our Party, imbued with the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method, has given precedence to political work and has actively conducted communist education among the peasants so that they display conscious enthusiasm and devotion in their work. Our victory in agriculture has also been possible because our Party has thoroughly put into practice the line of providing a material stimulus to arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants for production by correctly enforcing the socialist principle of distribution and introducing a bonus system for the workteams.

In the course of the fight for the height of 5 million tons of grain, we have strengthened the material and technical foundations of agriculture and furthered the progress of our farm technology. In the countryside our tractor stock now totals 15,000 in terms of 15 h.p. units and the level of agricultural mechanization has continued to rise. This year the area under irrigation has been expanded by 30,000 *chongbo* and the amount of chemical fertilizer applied is 13 per cent higher than last year.

Along with grain production, all other branches of agriculture such as industrial crops, stockbreeding, sericulture and fruit growing have shown a high growth rate.

In light industry [illegible] year height of 250 million metres of fabrics.

The rapid development of the textile industry [illegible] good-quality fabrics in greater quantity is an important [illegible] to satisfactorily solve our people's clothing problem. [illegible] the textile production [illegible] by the Party, the workers and technicians in the textile industry have already successfully surpassed the plan for the first half-year and are now rapidly increasing production in the second half. There is every indication that [illegible] million metres of fabrics will be turned out this year. This is an increase of over [illegible] per cent on last year's figure and means that the per-capita output of fabrics will reach approximately [illegible] metres. The proportion of high-quality fabrics has begun to rise gradually, and the rapid development of the clothing industry has alleviated women's work in the home and made it possible to supply the population with better clothes.

This year, our centres of light industry have generally been expanded and strengthened. Expansion projects have been completed in the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and the Kilju Pulp Mill; the existing textile mills have been equipped with [illegible] 000 more spindles; construction projects like the Hyesan Textile Mill, with 15,000 spindles, the Hyesan Paper Mill, with a production capacity of 20,000 tons, and other new light industry factories have been successfully carried out. Mechanization has also been vigorously pushed forward in local industry and all of its factories have been better equipped.

The intensive exploitation of our country's rich marine resources is of great importance for the improvement of the people's standard of living.

Thanks to the correct leadership of the Party, to large-scale state investment and the devoted labour of the workers in the fisheries, the material and technical foundations of the fishing industry were decisively reinforced in the [illegible] period. In [illegible], the output of marine products reached [illegible] tons.

On the basis of these achievements, the Part[illegible] the

Government set the impressive target of 800,000 tons of marine products this year and are working hard in this area. Boundlessly inspired by the Party's policy, all our workers in the fishing industry are working heroically to complete this gigantic task and have already achieved great results. Needless to say, there is no ground for us to get complacent because the major fishing season—November and December—still lies ahead. We are, however, firmly convinced that in view of the results already achieved and with the present progress in production and the rising spirit of the workers in the fishing industry, we shall be able to fly the flag of victory, achieving our target of 800,000 tons of marine products.

The struggle to reach the height of homes for 200,000 families is a glorious one because by reaching that target, we will improve the housing conditions of the working people and, especially, transform the appearance of our countryside by clearing away the mud huts which have been in existence for thousands of years.

Our Fourth Party Congress set the huge task of building modern houses for 600,000 families in urban as well as in rural areas during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. We set about carrying out this task this year. Such an immense project for housing construction for the working people can be undertaken only in our society where power and all the wealth of the country are in the hands of the people and strong economic foundations have been laid.

So far we have carried out housing construction on a large scale. But never before have we built as many houses as we did this year, nor built dwellings in the countryside for 100,000 families in a single year. Nonetheless, our construction workers are successfully doing this difficult job with the active assistance of the entire people. Decisive results have already been achieved in the construction of rural housing, not to speak of urban housing; now we are in the final stage of housing construction for 200,000 families. This year we will definitely build modern houses for 100,000 families in the cities and the same number in the countryside.

This year heavy industry is confronted with the weighty task of reaching the heights of 1.2 million tons of steel and 15 million tons of coal; and of giving a powerful support to reach the remaining heights. On the whole our heavy industry has substantially completed its job.

Workers and technicians in the iron and steel industry will also reach their target of 1.2 million tons of pig iron and granulated iron and will produce 1.1 million tons of steel this year. This means that steel production will fall slightly short of the target, but a 29 per cent increase in production of pig iron and granulated iron and a more than 40 per cent increase in steel over last year is a big achievement for one year.

In the coal industry thorough measures were not taken against flood damage, despite the fact that the Party has stressed their importance time and again. As a result, pits were waterlogged after heavy rains and work at the coal face and transportation were greatly hindered. We thus fell short of the coal production target by a considerable margin. We now expect that coal output will rise by some 10 per cent as against last year. However, if the personnel in this sector had carried out the Party's instructions promptly and correctly, they would certainly have been in a position to reach the height of 15 million tons of coal.

The electric-power, chemical and machine-building industries have all achieved good results and production has sharply increased. Our machine-building industry, in particular, has made an important contribution to speeding up the technological reconstruction of the national economy by supplying large quantities of equipment needed for the mechanization of agriculture and fishing as well as metallurgical, chemical and electric-power equipment, and installations for the coal and other mines and for light industry.

Heavy industry this year has witnessed the construction of many new factories and shops such as the new medium-plate rolling shop in the Songjin Steel Plant with a production capacity of 80,000 tons, the drawn-steel-pipe shop of the Kangson Steel Plant with a production capacity of 30,000 tons, the

Smeltery nonferrous metal rolling shop with a capacity 00 tons, the Pyongyang Electric Wire Factory with a ca- of 12,000 tons, the Pongung Caustic Soda Factory with a ty of 50,000 tons, and the sulphuric acid shop with a ca- y of 45,000 tons in the Munpyong Smeltery. At the same technical equipment has been improved, advanced produc- methods and technical processes have been introduced ex- sively and productive capacity has been sharply raised in all avy industry plants.

Better equipped and strengthened in this way, our heavy ndustry is now more effective in serving the development of ight industry and agriculture and the improvement of the peo- ple's living conditions.

This year we have waged a very intense struggle in all areas of socialist construction. This has been a proud and glorious battle for boundless prosperity in our country and the happiness of our people, and in it we have won a shining victory.

Comrades,

The tremendous successes in the first two years of the Sev- en-Year Plan open up bright prospects for the radical improve- ment of the people's living conditions in three or four years. To turn these prospects into reality, we must determinedly con- tinue the struggle in 1963 and 1964.

The basic task of the national economic plan for 1963 is simultaneously to consolidate the gains made this year in scaling the six heights, and to make preparations for even higher goals. In the following year we shall also direct our efforts to the development of agriculture and light industry and, in the field of heavy industry, we will re-equip and reinforce all our fac- tories and do everything in our power to develop the mining industry. At the same time, in the light of ever-increasing ag- gressive machinations by the U.S. imperialists entrenched in south Korea, and the military fascist clique, the Party and the Government will pay close attention to further fortifying ou national defences.

The radical development of the mining industry is an ir portant task for heavy industry next year. Mining is the p

mary process in production and, for that reason, unless we give priority to this industry we can hardly develop the other sectors of the national economy at a normal rate.

The Party and the Government, while continuing to develop the processing industry, will concentrate investments in mining during 1963 and 1964, so as to strengthen the material and technical basis of the ore and coal mines, and see to it that the growing requirements of the national economy for various kinds of ores and coal are fully satisfied.

The great historic task we are now engaged in calls for the extensive exploitation and use of our country's abundant mineral resources. In the coal industry we must definitely reach the height of 15 million tons of coal next year and continue to increase output in the future. The ore mining industry should supply enough ore to the iron and steel industry and also increase the output of various nonferrous and rare metal ores and non-metal minerals. It is particularly necessary to step up the extensive exploitation, refining and processing of nonferrous metal ores such as copper, lead, zinc and nickel and raw materials for alloys and to expand both variety and output of steel and alloys Only in this way can we fully prepare for a new upsurge in the development of heavy industry.

To develop the mining industry, we should give priority to geological prospecting. The ranks of prospecting workers and the technical equipment in this field should be further reinforced so as to expand this work and do it more thoroughly.

We must also continue to make large investments in the power industry and speed up the construction of the Kanggye Power Station, the Unbong Power Station, and the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant, all of which are already under construction, thus guaranteeing their going into operation on schedule.

Further development of the machine-building industry is an important task throughout the whole period of the Seven-Year Plan. Within the next year or two, rapid progress is expected, particularly in the manufacture of large-scale machinery, which is still lagging behind. We should expand the large-scale machinery plants we now have, operate them at full

capacity, and build more new factories to be able to provide enough equipment for the power stations, coal mines, ore mines and other big plants. We should also improve the utilization of equipment to the utmost and organize production rationally in all the machine-building factories so that they may supply the national economy with more machinery and equipment.

Although the bases of our heavy industry have been much more consolidated in the last couple of years, they have not yet been fully equipped. Therefore, we should energetically continue to push ahead with the work of putting flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry.

All heavy industry plants should be better equipped, and a strict system of inspection and maintenance of the equipment should be established, and the necessary auxiliary equipment and other conditions must be fully guaranteed, thereby stabilizing production completely. Moreover, we must boldly and positively introduce the achievements of science and technology into production, stepping up the mechanization and automation of production processes by bringing into play all our potential resources, and the movement for technical innovation should be more widely developed.

In the field of technology we should pay particular attention to the manufacture of substitutes for those materials and raw materials not available in our country. We should do everything possible in the iron and steel industry to make wide use of ferro-coke and pellets and to raise the standard of iron ore so as to increase iron production while, at the same time, substantially reducing the consumption of coking coal. Measures should also be taken to introduce the extensive application of the oxygen-blast method in the process of manufacturing iron and steel and to put gasification of coal into practice.

The main task of light industry next year is to maintain production levels, consolidating this year's height of 250 million metres of fabric, and to provide all conditions for the production of 300 million metres in 1964. At the same time, we must improve the quality of daily necessities and foodstuffs and expand their variety, markedly increasing their output.

To accomplish this task we should, above all, strengthen the raw material bases for light industry and markedly increase the production capacity of light industry factories.

We must fully normalize the operation of the February 8 Vinalon Factory, the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill, and the Hyesan Textile Mill, and increase production in all other branches which supply raw materials to light industry. Textile mills and all other light industry factories should make rational use of floor space to install more machinery, improve their equipment, and raise the workers' technical and skill levels to boost production at a steady rate.

More than 2,000 locally-run factories in our cities and counties have enormous possibilities for a rapid increase in the production of consumer goods for the people. It is planned that in 1964 local industry alone will turn out 100 million metres of fabric and 40,000 to 50,000 tons of paper, and that within each locality, the considerable local demands for daily necessities and processed food, as well as soy sauce, bean paste and vegetable oil will be met. It will be possible to realize this plan when we have developed local industry to a higher stage by carrying through the tasks laid down at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Functionaries

Dynamic acceleration of technical reconstruction is most important for the rapid development of local industry. Locally-run factories must get rid of backward artisan technology, introduce mechanization and semi-automation into all production processes, and steadily improve the workers' technical knowledge and skills

We should consolidate raw material bases for local industry so that most of the necessary raw materials can be obtained in local areas; we should pay close attention to improving factory management and promoting general production culture.

In this way all of our locally-run factories will be made attractive, modern and efficient; they will be equipped with new technology, manufacture various consumer goods mainly from local raw materials and greatly benefit the state and the people.

In agriculture next year we should concentrate our efforts

on increasing the rice output and thus improve the proportion of better grain in total production.

We are now supplying enough food for the entire population and even have a certain amount of grain in reserve. But we cannot rest content with this. We must supply not only enough but also better-quality food to the working people and thus improve their standard of living.

Our Party and Government have initiated the huge task of increasing the rice output to more than 3 million tons within the next few years so that all the people in the northern half can live on rice. This is really a splendid programme which gladdens everybody. It is one that we can surely fulfil.

To secure a higher output of grain, especially rice, it is necessary to continue projects for transforming nature.

The state will concentrate efforts on speeding up the construction of the large-scale Amnok-gang River irrigation network which will water about 90,000 *chongbo* of fields. In the future the state will undertake a big irrigation project along the Ryesong-gang River to bring under irrigation over 100,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and dry fields in North and South Hwanghae Provinces. It is also necessary to use the existing irrigation facilities to greater advantage, carry on the construction of medium and small irrigation projects, and energetically push ahead with the reclamation of land from the sea along the west coast. Especially, the reclaimed land is yielding good results: more than 4,000 *chongbo* reclaimed last year have already given us an average of over three tons of rice per *chongbo* this year. There is no doubt that as the salinity of these paddyfields goes down, the output of crops will grow. This is very fine and we should continue this work.

Starting now, we should, by spring 1964, expand the area of paddyfields by over 60,000 *chongbo,* making a total of 600,000 *chongbo* under rice cultivation in 1964.

Along with irrigation, land conservation work must be done properly. Drawing on the experience of this year we should regularly and carefully conserve not only big rivers but also small ones and, where necessary, undertake improvement pro-

jects. We should continue to energetically do forest and water conservation work—to plant and tend forests properly, build all river embankments on solid foundations and dredge river beds—so that floods bigger than this year's will not cause us damage.

In agriculture, it is necessary to step up mechanization and chemicalization, continue to improve seed strains, and develop all sorts of new farming techniques. During 1963, the state will also supply the rural areas with many tractors, lorries, and other modern farm machinery of various types. Next year, 700,000 tons of chemical fertilizers will be applied, and the supply of different chemicals for agriculture and weed killers will increase considerably.

In this way when we plant rice on 600,000 *chongbo* of paddyfields, expand the double-cropping area, and steadily improve farming technique to increase the per-*chongbo* yield of all kinds of crops, we shall be able to continue harvesting more than 5 million tons of grain annually; of this, rice output will undoubtedly hit the 3 million-ton mark.

With the food problem being fully solved, new possibilities are opening up for the rapid development of stockbreeding.

From 1964 onwards the Party and the Government plan to set aside large quantities of grain for animal fodder. Anticipating a sharp increase in the supply of fodder grain, we should start from now to build up the foundations of our stockbreeding by securing superior breeding animals and increasing their number and by improving and expanding stalls and veterinary and anti-epizootic establishments. We should not only breed pasture animals but also pigs and ducks on a large scale to bring meat production up to 200,000 tons by 1965.

We should expand the areas planted with different types of oil-bearing plants and fibre crops such as flax, hemp and ramie so as to increase their output and further develop fruit growing and sericulture.

While developing industry and agriculture, we must push ahead with housing construction for the working people. In the future, too, our construction workers must build a greater num-

ber of modern houses which are more comfortable, attractive and functional for the working people in urban and rural areas.

By successfully carrying out all these tasks, in three to four years we should be able to radically improve the living conditions of the people and consolidate the economic foundations of the country.

There will be a new, great change in the material and cultural life of our people three to four years later. By then we shall be producing 3 million tons of rice, 200,000 tons of meat, and 300 million metres of fabric; and new modern houses for hundreds of thousands of families will have gone up in town and country. This will enable all of our people to lead a life of plenty—to live in tile-roofed houses, eat rice and meat, and wear silk clothes. This means that within our time, the long-cherished desire of the working people of our country will be accomplished. This, indeed, will be a very happy and proud thing.

Moreover, in the near future, the compulsory nine-year technical education which we have been preparing for will be introduced universally. Its enforcement will enable us to bring up the whole younger generation as competent builders of socialism and communism, with a knowledge of advanced science and technology. With the continued rapid expansion of higher education as well as the enforcement of compulsory technical education, the total number of technicians and specialists will exceed 400,000 in two or three years. Thus, shop managers and other higher cadres in all our factories and enterprises will, without exception, be qualified engineers and specialists, or assistant engineers and junior specialists.

This bright prospect is a source of great excitement for all the working people of our country, inspiring them more powerfully in their heroic labour effort. Solidly united around the Party and the Government, our working people are now marching confidently towards new victories with greater hope and courage and with the clear prospect of a bright future. Through their heroic struggle our people, under the leadership of the Party, are sure to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan triumphantly.

In order to successfully carry out the enormous tasks con-

fronting us in socialist construction, we must further enhance the role and function of the state bodies as a weapon in the construction of socialism and continue to improve the management and guidance of the national economy.

Our Party and Government have taken a series of important measures to reorganize the work of the state and economic bodies as well as to raise the level of leadership of their functionaries in keeping with new, changed conditions. With these measures they have achieved great successes and accumulated valuable experiences in this field.

In particular, there has been a great change in the work of the state and economic bodies in the course of generalizing the guidance experience gained in Chongsan-*ri*. Revolutionary methods of work have been established; leadership has been brought closer to the lower bodies and higher bodies help those below them; in addition, functionaries go deeply among the masses to educate, remould, and rally them round and solve all problems by giving full play to their enthusiasm and creativity.

In order to establish the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method more thoroughly in the guidance and management of the national economy, we took new, radical measures this year to reorganize the structure of factory management and to establish the county co-operative farm management committees and the provincial rural economy committees.

Although it is not long since their establishment, the new systems of management in industry and agriculture are already fully showing their superiority.

The reorganization of the factory management structure made it possible both to manage factories under the collective leadership of Party committees and to decisively strengthen the leadership and supervision of Party bodies over industry and improve the Party's political work among the working class. The leading cadres of the factories are now freed from petty tasks and thus able to make much effort to give technical guidance to production and go deeper among the masses to do better work with them; all this is due to the establishment of a clear division of responsibilities and assignments among the

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In agriculture we have set up the county co-operative farm anagement committees, putting at their disposal agronomists nd bringing under them those state enterprises serving agriculture, such as farm machine stations, local farm implement factories, and irrigation administration offices. Thus it became possible to direct agriculture more effectively—not by the administrative method, as in the past, but by the industrial method of management—and more vigorously promote the development of the productive forces of agriculture, in particular, the rural technical revolution. In addition, by radically improving and strengthening the leadership and the material and technical assistance given by the state to the co-operative farms, we have further enhanced the leading role of state ownership over co-operative ownership. This has also strengthened the production links between town and country and between industry and agriculture and has consolidated the worker-peasant alliance, enhancing the leading role of the working class in that alliance.

Specialized bodies set up for directing agriculture in the rural areas are also having a very positive influence on the work of the local people's committees. Provincial, city, and county people's committees are now able to give great attention to commerce, construction, education, culture and public health and, consequently, to give better leadership to the work in these fields.

We can say with conviction that these management systems in industry and agriculture initiated by our Party ar excellent new forms of managing a socialist economy, form which are in full harmony with the principles of Marxisr Leninism and the actual conditions of our country.

The question now is to improve our officials' work meth and decisively promote their level of leadership on the stren

of the superiority of the existing management systems. The work methods of our functionaries have not yet been completely changed to conform with the new management systems and their guidance still fails to keep pace with the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. These shortcomings should be eliminated as soon as possible.

We must first strengthen political work, and in this way steadily heighten the ideological consciousness of the masses and inspire them to participate voluntarily in carrying out the revolutionary tasks. We must continue to hold firm to the principle—to give priority to political work in all fields and give a vigorous communist education to the working people in combination with education in the Party's policies and, at the same time, to correctly link this with practical and administrative work as well as with the work of ensuring the material and technical conditions.

Along with this, we should bring leadership closer to the lower units and improve its methods. The important thing in leadership is to establish more thoroughly the revolutionary work method—the method of relying on the masses—and the work system of giving real assistance to the lower units.

It is the workers and peasants who are directly engaged in production and construction. They know better than anyone else the state of affairs in their work places and can suggest more new ideas. Therefore, our leading functionaries should always go deeply among the masses where they work to consult with them, listen to their opinions, use their knowledge to find solutions to problems, and mobilize them to carry out all the tasks which the revolution faces.

The precise aim of giving guidance to the lower units is to help the workers there to correct their shortcomings and get good results in their work. When going down to the lower units, leading functionaries should not dictate to the workers nor order them about but should give them practical assistance by kindly teaching them and working with them to solve their difficult problems, so that they can do their work well.

Thus fully practising the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-

ri method in all fields, we should make skilful use of the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and mobilize the unused reserves and potential of our national economy to the maximum.

The unlimited creativity and talent of our working people are a decisive guarantee for the success of the great programme of socialist construction.

We should expand and strengthen the Chollima Workteam Movement among the working people and educate and remould all of them in communist ideas, so as to unite them more closely around the Party and give free rein to their revolutionary zeal and creative ability. In this way we will continue to bring about innovations and rapid progress in all fields of socialist construction.

All our cadres and other working people should build up more firmly the revolutionary spirit of opposing immorality and laziness, living a modest life, never letting down their guard and valiantly surmounting every difficulty with a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

As Communists fighting for the revolution, we must always have a spirit of self-reliance. Otherwise, we would lose confidence in our own strength and make no serious effort to develop the internal resources of our country, thus failing to accomplish the cause of the revolution.

Of course, we shall continue to need help and support from the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries and from all the progressive people of the world; that is important to guarantee our victory. But it is not a revolutionary's attitude to just seek aid from foreign countries instead of exerting himself. With this kind of attitude, we could not accomplish the revolution. The decisive factor in the victory of our revolution lies in our own strength. We must build a new society in our country and achieve the final victory of the Korean revolution mainly through our own efforts. This conforms to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and will contribute to the development of the international revolutionary movement.

In building a socialist economy, we should also be firm in our adherence to the principle of self-reliance and move towards the building of more solid foundations for an independent national economy, promoting economic and cultural co-operation with the fraternal countries on this basis.

Building an independent national economy means building a diversified economy, equipping it with up-to-date technology and creating our own solid bases of raw materials, thereby building up an all-embracing economic system in which every branch of the economy is structurally interrelated, so as to produce domestically most of the products of heavy and light industry and the agricultural produce needed to make the country wealthy and powerful and to improve the people's living conditions.

Only by building the economy in this way can we utilize all our country's natural resources in the most rational and comprehensive way, rapidly develop the productive forces, steadily raise the living standards of the people and further increase the political and economic strength of the country. And only by building an independent national economy can we meet each other's economic needs with fraternal countries, ensure more effective mutual co-operation and division of labour with them on the principles of proletarian internationalism and of complete equality and mutual benefit, and contribute to the strengthening of the power of the entire socialist camp.

Under the leadership of our Party our people have built the foundations of an independent national economy through hard-fought battles. As a result, we have not only strengthened the economic power of the country and raised our standard of living still higher, but have also been able to promote greater mutual co-operation with the fraternal countries and to considerably lighten the burdens these countries bear for our country. This is our due repayment to the peoples of the fraternal countries for their active support and assistance, and it is our important contribution to strengthening the power of the entire socialist camp.

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Under the banner of self-reliance, we shall continue to exert ourselves and mobilize our internal resources to the utmost, steadily developing our co-operation with the fraternal countries on the principles of proletarian internationalism. Thus we shall speed up the construction of socialism in our country and contribute to increasing the might of the world socialist system.

Rallied steel-strong around the Party and the Government, our people will continue the vigorous advance in the spirit of the Chollima riders—courageously surmounting any and every difficulty—and will definitely fulfil the Seven-Year Plan and reach the high peak of socialism.

3

Comrade Deputies,

The great successes achieved in the construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic are exerting a great revolutionary influence on the people in south Korea who are under the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism. These successes are moving the balance of forces between revolution and counterrevolution in Korea more and more in favour of the former.

Inspired by the great victories achieved by their north Korean brothers in socialist construction, the south Korean people rose up in a heroic struggle and overthrew the Syngman Rhee regime that had ridden roughshod over them for 12 years, and now they maintain a determined struggle against U.S. imperialist colonial rule and the military dictatorship.

Developments in south Korea since the April Popular Uprising show that no "legal" replacement of the regime nor establishment of a terrorist dictatorship by sheer force enables the U.S. imperialists to tide over the political and economic crises in south Korea or suppress the people's struggle there

for democratic freedom, the right to live and the peaceful reunification of the country.

Despite bloody repression by the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean military regime, anti-U.S. sentiments are mounting among the broad masses of the people in south Korea, and the patriotic and democratic forces are gradually growing stronger.

In the year and a half following the seizure of power by the military fascist clique, the political and economic crises in south Korea have deepened. The economy has declined further, the people's living standards are deteriorating, and corruption and social disorder is increasing.

In south Korea all the political parties and social organizations have been dissolved, and martial law has been in force for more than a year now.

While launching an unprecedented barbarous attack on the democratic freedom of the people, the south Korean military regime is trying hard to quell the people's discontent, making a lot of talk about the "construction of a self-reliant economy," a "five-year plan for economic development," or "relief for the impoverished." But no one expects that the south Korean military regime, a mere tool of U.S imperialist colonial rule, will ever do any of these things It has already become quite evident that all this is nothing but absolute nonsense.

The economy of south Korea under U.S. imperialist occupation is in a state of irretrievable ruin.

Having seized the key branches of the economy of south Korea, the U.S. imperialists have reduced it to their military appendage and have totally destroyed the south Korean national economy.

Under the pressure of U.S. monopoly capital and comprador capital, national industry in south Korea has been completely stifled and ruined. Owing to the increasing shortage of raw materials and funds and to the growing marketing difficulties, within just one year after the setting up of the military regime, industrial production fell by 9 per cent.

South Korean agriculture has also been totally devastat-

ed. The vast peasant masses are still being harshly exploited under the feudalistic landlord system. Plunder and exploitation by the U.S. imperialists and the landlords have ruined south Korean agriculture severely. Both the total arable land and the area actually planted are steadily decreasing, and agricultural production is still based on backward, mediaeval techniques. Thus, south Korea, formerly a granary, has been converted into a region of chronic famine and has to import 4 to 5 million *sok* of U.S. surplus grain every year.

The south Korean people are living in untold misery due to economic bankruptcy on all fronts and cruel exploitation at the hands of the U.S. imperialists, the landlords, and the comprador capitalists.

Millions of working people have lost their jobs and are wandering in the streets. As no measures have been taken for their relief, they hover on the verge of starvation. Sixty per cent of all the able-bodied men in south Korea today are either unemployed or underemployed.

The people have been totally impoverished. Nevertheless, south Korea's rulers are exacting increasing taxes from the working people to cover their huge military expenditures. The tax burden on the south Korean people in 1962 increased 43 per cent since 1960. As a result of the acute inflation caused by snowballing military spending, commodity prices are steadily rising. As of July this year, commodity prices in south Korea were up by more than 20 per cent as against the end of 1960.

The U.S. imperialists have thoroughly disorganized the south Korean economy and brought unspeakable suffering to the south Korean people, transforming the whole of south Korea into a living hell where mass terror and tyranny prevail. The people's lives and property are constantly threatened by the American robbers, and our compatriots, our brothers and sisters are insulted and murdered by the aggressors. Mass starvation is sweeping south Korea, and almost every day many people starve to death.

This is the consequence of the colonial rule of U.S. im-

perialism in south Korea and of the traitorous policy of the south Korean rulers.

The only way to save the present situation in south Korea and to relieve the people there from hunger and poverty is to drive out the U.S. troops and achieve national reunification.

Unless the complete independence and reunification of the country is achieved, the Korean people will not be able to live in peace for one minute, nor will the people in south Korea be able to free themselves from their present misery. The achievement of the great work of national reunification is the unanimous desire of all Koreans, in north and south. It is the supreme national task.

Reunification of our country should be achieved independently and by peaceful means without the interference of any outside forces after driving out foreign troops.

Having turned south Korea into their colony and military base and driven south Korean society into the depths of ruin, the U.S. imperialists are constantly threatening peace in Korea by aggravating tension. They are obstructing the reunification of our country by resorting to all sorts of sinister schemes.

The occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their aggressive policy are the root causes of all the misfortunes and sufferings of the people in south Korea; they are the main obstacle to the progress of south Korean society and the peaceful reunification of our country.

History has never seen the achievement of independence and reunification when a country is occupied by foreign aggressor troops and is suffering outside interference.

Only by driving the U.S. army of aggression out of south Korea will it be possible to deliver the south Koreans from hunger, poverty, and colonial slavery, and to realize the national desire to reunify our divided country. Those who talk about the reunification of the country while justifying the occupation of south Korea by U.S. troops are, in fact, the opponents of reunification and agents of imperialism.

There is no reason whatsoever for the U.S. imperialis-

station their troops in south Korea, nor can it be justified in any way. The U.S. army must pull out of south Korea and the Korean question must be settled by the Korean people themselves.

The U.S. imperialists are clamouring that the U.S. army must be stationed in south Korea in order to check "communist aggression from the north." But they can deceive no one with such a lie.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic are consistent in their efforts for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We have no intention of marching south, we have no intention of solving the question of Korean reunification by force of arms.

"Communist aggression from the north" is nothing but a subterfuge of the U.S. imperialists to cover up their sinister design to continue the occupation of south Korea, extend their invasion to the whole of Korea and further their aggression in Asia. The people in south Korea should thoroughly expose and frustrate the vicious scheming of the U.S. imperialists to invade all of Korea by pitting Koreans against Koreans.

We consider that the United Nations has no right to discuss the Korean question nor has it any right to meddle in the domestic affairs of our country. The Korean question should not be discussed by foreigners in New York or Washington; it should be discussed in Pyongyang or Seoul by the Koreans themselves.

The question of Korean reunification is an internal affair of the Korean people, and it can be settled by them alone. What grounds do foreign countries have for interfering in the domestic affairs of Korea, and how can they possibly settle the internal affairs of our nation? To try to achieve the reunification of the country by relying on outside forces is an illusion and is tantamount to leaving the whole of Korea open to imperialist aggression.

The Korean people can, and must, reunify their country through their own efforts.

Reunification of our country is a complicated and dif-

ficult task that cannot be performed easily. Only through a hard and long-drawn-out struggle can we accomplish the great task of national reunification, for the U.S. imperialists, the overlords of world imperialism, have occupied south Korea and are now plotting frantically to unleash a new war, pursuing a policy of aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia.

We should carry out the independent, peaceful reunification of our country in a gradual way, through a series of intermediary steps, on the condition that foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea.

In order to achieve the country's reunification, it is of paramount importance to eliminate the tension between north and south created by the U.S. imperialists.

The U.S. army should be withdrawn, a peace agreement should be concluded between the north and south on refraining from attack on each other and the armed forces of each be reduced to 100,000 or less. We have proposed this on a number of occasions and have done everything in our power to achieve this end.

Neither north nor south should increase their armed forces nor their armaments; instead, the armed forces should be reduced and tension eliminated so that both sides can work to build up the national economy and improve the living standards of the people.

The U.S. imperialists maintain a 700,000-strong mercenary army in south Korea, grinding the people down. This huge military force in the south has nothing to do with national defence; it is merely an instrument of U.S. imperialism for carrying out a policy of aggression. It imposes an unbearably heavy burden on the people in south Korea and seriously threatens peace in Korea.

The conclusion of a peace agreement between north and south Korea and the reduction of their respective armed forces would, above all, mean relief for the people in the south from the heavy burdens of military expenditure and removal of the tension that has been artificially created between north and south, thereby creating an atmosphere of mutual trust.

The withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea, the conclusion of a peace agreement between north and south, and the reduction of their armed forces would prove to be important initial steps towards the reunification of the country.

Elimination of tension between the north and south would enable us to take a further step and enter into economic and cultural exchange and co-operation.

A burning issue in south Korea today is the rehabilitation of its devastated economy and the improvement of the miserable living conditions of the people there. The only way of solving this problem is to establish economic and cultural relations and promote exchange and co-operation between the north and south.

Under the leadership of our Party, the people in the northern half have, through a heroic struggle, laid the foundations of industrialization and built a solid basis for an independent national economy. The economic foundations we have already established in the northern half of the Republic are a sure guarantee for the independent development of the national economy of Korea as a whole.

Only when economic co-operation and exchange between north and south Korea make it possible to take advantage of the economic foundations built in north Korea, can the industry and agriculture of south Korea be rehabilitated and developed, can the millions of unemployed be given jobs, and the life of its people generally improved.

We think it is necessary to organize an economic committee composed of representatives of north and south Korea for the purpose of effectively carrying out north-south exchanges.

The south Korean authorities, contrary to the will of the Korean people, are now trying to find a way out by bringing in foreign capital. The introduction of foreign capital leads to a state of dependence and national bankruptcy. This will only result in plunging the already ruined south Korean economy deeper into the abyss of hopeless destruction and in making south Korea more and more dependent on imperialism. The

outcome of U.S. "aid" to south Korea over the 17 years since liberation is a striking proof of this.

When the north and the south combine their efforts to exploit our rich domestic resources, relying on the powerful economic foundations of north Korea, our nation will not only be able to stand on its own feet, but also build a modern, rich, powerful and independent state.

When exchange and mutual co-operation between the north and the south are put into effect, we shall be able to take another step towards epoch-making measures for the initial reunification of the country.

In order to achieve initial reunification, we consider the establishment of the Confederation already proposed by our Party and the Government of the Republic to be a reasonable step.

Our proposal of a Confederation is aimed at setting up a Supreme National Committee, composed of representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of the "Republic of Korea" to jointly solve matters of concern to the whole nation, while leaving intact the present socio-political systems in north and south Korea and ensuring the independence of action of the two governments.

Under the Confederation, neither north nor south shall *interfere in the internal affairs of the other, nor shall one im*pose its will upon the other. North and south Korea shall act freely according to their respective political beliefs and jointly settle only those problems of common national interest on which agreement has been reached through the confederative body.

Unlike a confederation of nations with different languages, customs and cultures, the Confederation we propose would be a coming together of two temporarily divided parts of a single nation which has had the same language, customs and culture throughout its long history. Therefore, the establishment of the Confederation of north and south will make it possible for us to do tremendous work for the prosperity of the country and

the benefit of the nation—developing the national economy and culture in a co-ordinated way and jointly exploiting all domestic resources, appearing as one nation in various fields of international activity, and so forth.

The establishment of the Confederation will also promote contacts and mutual understanding, strengthen politico-economic ties between north and south and create an atmosphere of national amity, thereby initiating a very favourable phase in the achievement of the complete peaceful reunification of our country.

We can, and must, achieve the complete reunification of our country by taking these intermediary steps.

As our Party and Government have made clear time and again, in order to achieve that goal, a unified central government, representing all strata of people in north and south Korea, must be set up on the basis of free elections throughout the whole country, conducted on democratic principles.

The guarantee of freedom to travel and freedom of political activity for the people both in north and south Korea, as well as the rejection of any interference by external forces, are prerequisites for free all-Korea elections.

In south Korea the suppression of the patriotic and democratic movement of the people must be brought to an end at once, and freedom of speech, the press, association and assembly, and freedom to demonstrate and to strike must be ensured. All political parties and social organizations outlawed by the military regime must be restored and complete freedom of their activities ensured.

All political parties, social organizations and individual public figures in north and south Korea must be guaranteed freedom of activity in all parts of the country and the freedom to express their political views before the people without any restriction whatsoever.

Only when these conditions are ensured can the Korean people establish an all-Korea central government through genuinely free elections and achieve the complete peaceful reunification of the country.

This stand of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the reunification of the country reflects the interests of the whole nation and the will of the entire Korean people.

Certain persons in south Korea are dead set against independent peaceful reunification of our country, alleging that its realization would lead to the "communization" of south Korea. Whether the ideal of communism is realized in south Korea or not is a matter to be decided by the south Korean people themselves, and no one can impose it on them. No progressive ideas and social systems can be imposed from outside; they are chosen by the people themselves of their own free will. To oppose the reunification of the country on the pretext of fearing the "communization" of south Korea is to go against the entire people's earnest desire for reunification and to betray the vital interests of the whole nation.

The rulers in south Korea still persist in their old "theory of wiping out communism for reunification" and are prattling on about building up their strength to "prevail over communism."

Attempts have already been made to wipe out communism and impose the colonial system on the whole of Korea through the power of imperialism, but this goal has proved absolutely unattainable. For almost 40 years, Japanese imperialist colonial rule could not stamp out the communist movement in Korea. Syngman Rhee who had made the extermination of communism his lifetime task could not achieve his goal even though banking on the power of U.S. imperialism. Rather he was forsaken by the people and met his downfall for his crimes. Some of those die-hards in south Korea who are bent on anti-communism must learn these lessons of history. Anyone daring to follow in the wake of Syngman Rhee will surely meet the same fate as his predecessor.

The reunification of our country is not a question of conquerors and conquered, but of the restoration of national unity in an originally united nation by completely freeing itself from the yoke of imperialism.

The pipe dream of "wiping out communism" or "prevailing over communism" is not only past all hope of realization. It is also a very harmful idea aimed at preventing the reunification of the country and perpetuating a divided nation.

The stand of our Party and the Government of the Republic on the reunification of the country is irrefutable; it is the most fair and reasonable one.

Anyone who truly defends the interests of the nation and is concerned about the future of the country should fight for an improved life for the people in south Korea, today in dire straits, and for the country's peaceful reunification. This is the solemn national duty of every Korean.

In order to achieve reunification of the country it is most important to promote mutual understanding, and achieve national amity and solidarity between north and south in every way. Antagonism and enmity between the north and south and the failure to achieve national unity only benefit the U.S. imperialists. The imperialist aggressors fear our national awakening and unity more than anything else. They resort to every vile scheme to undermine national unity, sow discord and create antagonism within the nation, with the object of achieving their goal of aggression.

All the patriotic people of north and south Korea should decisively smash the U.S. imperialist policy of dividing the nation and close ranks under the banner of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and the banner of national reunification.

We will unite and work together with anyone, regardless of his past record and political beliefs, as long as he defends the interests of the nation and works for the reunification of the homeland.

We can join hands even with those now in power in south Korea if they stop betraying the nation by conspiring with the foreign aggressors, stop repressing the people, and join in the struggle for independent peaceful reunification of the country. But if they refuse to do so and continue to fawn upon the foreign forces and tag along behind them, repressing the people's just

struggle for democracy and the right to live, and if they keep on obstructing the country's reunification to the last, it will be an indelible crime never to be erased from our nation's memory, and they will not be able to escape the stern judgment of the entire Korean people.

Unity should be achieved between the socialist forces of the northern half of the Republic and the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea, and the whole nation should unite firmly in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the peaceful reunification of our country.

All sectors of the people in south Korea—workers, peasants, soldiers, youth and students, intellectuals and others—must rise up bravely in the save-the-nation struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The south Korean people must fight against the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war and determinedly reject any co-operation with the invader army. The south Korean people should put an end to the outrages committed by U.S. troops against our compatriots, our brothers and sisters, and wage a decisive struggle to force the aggressors out of our territory.

The south Korean people must fight both U.S. imperialism and the internal reactionary forces conspiring with it.

Under the banner of independent peaceful reunification, the workers and peasants and all the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea must form a broad united front for national salvation against U.S imperialism; they must completely isolate the U.S. imperialists and the internal reactionary forces and prevent the reactionary rulers from relying on outside forces by constantly bringing pressure to bear on them.

We are living in a great era of national-liberation revolutions, when all the oppressed nations of the world are valiantly rising up to win their freedom and independence, casting aside the fetters of imperialism and colonialism. The spirit of struggle for national liberation is running high today in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In such an era, how could our wise and courageous nation, which has a long history and culture of thousands of years

and which has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions, succumb to the oppression of Yankee imperialism and tolerate colonial slavery? All of us should rise up vigorously and intensify the flames of struggle for the reunification of the nation and the complete independence of the country, fighting U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, the reactionary ruling forces.

When the whole nation is firmly united and fighting a vigorous anti-U.S. save-the-nation struggle, the U.S. imperialist aggressors will finally be driven out of south Korea and the great task of national reunification will certainly be accomplished.

4

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct foreign policy pursued by our Party and Government and to the heroic struggle of our people, the international position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been strengthened as never before.

The general international situation today is developing more and more in favour of the revolutionary cause of our people. The might of the socialist camp has grown incomparably, and the forces of peace and socialism are overwhelming the forces of war and imperialism in the international arena.

The Soviet people are pioneering the road to communism, the ideal of mankind. The Soviet Union is carrying out large-scale economic construction for laying the material and technical bases of communism, and the welfare of its working people is being further improved. The Soviet Union is leading the world in scientific and technological development and is registering ever greater achievements in this sphere. All the successes achieved by the Soviet people in building communism increase the strength of the socialist camp and inspire all the

peoples of the world who are fighting for peace, national independence and socialism.

The fraternal Chinese people are also making achievements in the construction of socialism.

In all the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, the economy is developing rapidly and the people's standard of living improving.

Today, the socialist camp is the hope and expectation of progressive mankind all over the world, it constitutes the decisive factor in the development of human history.

The strengthening and development of the socialist camp inspires the peoples of the colonies and subjected countries immensely in their struggle for liberation and further accelerates the process of the final disintegration of the imperialist colonial system.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America hundreds of millions of people have already thrown off the vile yoke of colonialism and embarked upon the road of independent development, and the flames of the national-liberation struggle are spreading and shooting higher.

The South Vietnamese people continue their heroic armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges The people of Laos have won a great victory in their battle to smash the aggressive machinations of the foreign imperialists and the internal reactionaries and to achieve national independence, and the Indonesian people have fought a successful struggle for the liberation of West Irian.

After a long-drawn-out armed struggle, the Algerian people have won their freedom and liberation and have set up an independent national state, and in all African countries still under the colonial yoke, the peoples are bravely fighting against the colonialists.

The heroic Cuban people are resolutely defending the gains of their revolution against the incessant aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists The triumph and development of the Cuban people's revolution is a tremendous revolutionary stimulus to all the Latin-American peoples who are under the

yoke of U.S. imperialism. The tide of the liberation struggle is rapidly spreading to Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and all other Latin-American countries, and their struggle is continually surging ahead.

Owing to the rapid growth of the forces of world socialism and the disintegration of the colonial system, the forces of imperialism have been decisively weakened. The internal contradictions of imperialism are being further aggravated and the conflicts among imperialist powers become more acute. The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people led by the working class is advancing in all the capitalist countries. The imperialists are suffering heavy blows from within and from without and are being driven into a tight corner.

Capitalism has outlived its day. The time is already past when imperialism could exercise its sway over the world and perpetrate aggression and pillage at will. Ours is an age of great struggle, an age of revolutionary tempest, one in which fierce class struggle is being waged throughout the world and in which all the exploited peoples and oppressed nations on earth have come forward to fight for liberation. Imperialism is going to ruin; socialism and communism are triumphing on a world scale.

All the reactionary forces of the world, led by U.S. imperialism, are engaged in the last stages of their desperate attempt to save themselves from their doom. The U.S. imperialists are resorting to every conceivable means to unleash a new war, opposing the socialist camp and suppressing the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and the exploited peoples throughout the world.

The modern revisionists are attempting to undermine the unity of the socialist camp, defend the aggressive manoeuvres of imperialism, and paralyse the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people and are faithfully serving U.S. imperialism.

However, all the machinations of the imperialists and their puppets are of no avail. The rapid growth of the world's socialist forces and the steady upsurge of the people's revolutionary

struggle is the basic trend of our times which no force can hold back, and the complete collapse of imperialism and the final victory of socialism is inevitable.

At present the imperialists, led by U.S. imperialism, are trying to find a way out by stepping up the arms drive, increasing international tension and unleashing another world war.

The U.S. imperialists are expanding armaments on a large scale and further strengthening military bases and aggressive military blocs to attack the socialist countries. The Kennedy Administration, the executor of the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression, has embarked on the road of openly carrying out "local wars" and "special warfare" while making extensive preparations for an all-out war and nuclear war. By further increasing the military strength of the aggressive "NATO" and rearming the West German revanchists, the ruling circles in the United States and its satellite countries are creating a dangerous hotbed of war in the heart of Europe.

The U.S. imperialists are now starting a new war racket in the Caribbean. By openly proclaiming their intention to invade Cuba again, they are creating the maximum tension in this area and gravely threatening peace in the whole world.

In Asia the U.S. imperialists continue to occupy the southern half of our country and have turned it into a base for U.S. atomic weapons and rockets. The U.S. aggressors are further reinforcing both their troops stationed in south Korea and their puppet army, continuing to introduce various weapons of mass destruction into south Korea and are incessantly making provocations against the northern half of the Republic.

The U.S. imperialists are also perpetrating open acts of aggression against People's China by occupying Taiwan, an inalienable territory of the Chinese People's Republic, and instigating the Chiang Kai-shek clique. In South Viet Nam they are carrying on an undeclared full-scale war of aggression.

Especially, the U.S. imperialists have concluded an aggressive military treaty with Japan, reviving Japanese militarism to use it as a "shock brigade" in their Asian aggression.

The current situation demands that the people of the whole

world maintain the utmost vigilance against the plots of the U.S. imperialists and their followers to provoke war and that they fight more actively to defend peace.

The mighty socialist camp today stands in the forefront of the struggle for peace. The socialist countries, by the very nature of their social system, ardently wish for peace and pursue a peaceful foreign policy.

In order to realize the peaceable proposals made by the socialist countries and maintain lasting peace throughout the world, it is necessary, above all, to struggle vigorously against the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

The source of war is imperialism, and the main force of aggression and war today is U.S. imperialism. There can be no struggle for peace apart from the fight against the imperialists', particularly the U.S. imperialists', policy to commit aggression and provoke war.

Peace should not be begged; it must be won through the struggle of the popular masses. The only way for us to avert a new world war and maintain lasting world peace is by steadily increasing the might of the socialist camp, developing the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the liberation struggles of the peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, organizing and mobilizing the broad popular masses in the struggle against the imperialists' policy of aggression and war, and by bringing pressure to bear upon the imperialist warmongers, hitting them hard everywhere by firmly rallying all peace forces and combining all methods of struggle.

The occupation of south Korea by U.S. troops and the U.S. policy of aggression not only hinder the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, but also gravely threaten peace in the Far East. The Korean people will continue their resolute struggle to frustrate the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists aimed at provoking another war in our country and to force them out of south Korea.

Japanese militarism, which is being revived by the U.S. imperialists, is now raising its head as a dangerous force of

aggression in Asia. Particularly, the Japanese militarists, through the "ROK-Japan talks" held under the active instigation of the U.S. imperialists, are not only planning economic aggression in south Korea but are also scheming to rig up the aggressive "NEATO" with south Korea as a member.

The south Korean military regime is nothing but a tool of aggression in the hands of the U.S. imperialists—a tool which has been imposed upon the south Korean people. It can in no way represent the Korean people. Therefore, the Korean people will never recognize, but categorically reject any military or economic agreement which may be concluded between the Japanese government and the south Korean militay regime. When a unified people's government is established in Korea in the future, all these political and economic issues will naturally be raised and settled anew with Japan. The Korean people strongly denounce the scheme of Japanese militarism to invade south Korea again and the criminal acts of the U.S. imperialists who are actively abetting it.

Our people resolutely denounce the U.S. imperialists for their acts of aggression in Taiwan, South Viet Nam, Japan and other parts of Asia and throughout the world, and we strongly demand the removal of U.S. military bases and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the territories of foreign countries. We will fight in strong unity with all the Asian peoples to expel the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism from every part of Asia.

We support the just stand of the Soviet Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic on concluding a German peace treaty and normalizing the West Berlin situation.

Holding high the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle and firmly uniting with the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, the Korean people will continue to fight resolutely against the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists to provoke war and for defending peace in Asia and the world. We will keep a sharp watch-out at all times, strengthening our defence capabilities in every way and arming the masses of the people with the revolutionary spirit. We shall thereby decisively smash

any surprise attack by the enemy, firmly safeguard the gains of socialism and solidly defend peace and the eastern outpost of socialism.

The anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries constitutes part of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class, and it is a powerful factor in the preservation of peace. The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic regard it as an important principle of their foreign policy to give active support to the struggle for national liberation.

The Korean people support in every way the struggle of the heroic Cuban people to defend their national independence and the achievements of their revolution and strongly condemn the U.S. imperialists for their aggressive intrigues against Cuba. Our people actively support the Vietnamese people in their fight against foreign aggressive forces and domestic reactionary forces, for the reunification of their country, and support the Japanese people in their struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. We warmly congratulate the peoples of Laos and Algeria on their victories in the struggle for national independence. And we actively support the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are struggling for freedom and liberation.

Our Party, the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people will continue to fight determinedly against every form of colonialism and national oppression and extend their support and encouragement to the liberation struggles of all the oppressed peoples.

We also actively support and express our firm solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries who are fighting against exploitation and oppression by capital and for their democratic rights and socialism.

Consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and steady development of the relations of friendship and co-operation with all the socialist countries: this is the immovable cornerstone of the foreign policy of our Republic.

The unity and cohesion of the socialist camp is the most important guarantee for frustrating the imperialist policy of aggression and for achieving peace, national independence and a victory for the cause of socialism. It is the solemn internationalist duty of the Parties, Governments and peoples of all socialist countries to strengthen their friendship and solidarity and to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp.

The relations among the socialist countries are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; these are state relations of an entirely new kind, fundamentally different from relations among the imperialist countries.

The socialist countries are firmly united by a common social system and by a common ideology and goal of struggle. They co-operate closely and support each other in the struggle against their common enemy for the common cause of socialism and communism.

The relations among the imperialist countries are relations of domination and subjection, whereby a big nation interferes in the internal affairs of a small nation, imposing its will upon the latter and demanding unilateral respect and submission. All the socialist countries, however, both big and small, are completely equal and independent and respect and support each other. Among these countries there can be no such thing as one country interfering in the internal affairs of another or imposing its will upon the other.

Outwardly the imperialist countries proclaim mutual "friendship" and "solidarity," but behind the scenes they carry on subversive activities against one another; they advocate "co-operation" and "aid," but in reality they utilize these as a means of subordinating other countries politically and economically. The socialist countries, on the other hand, maintain relations of conscious and comradely friendship and co-operation as fellow-fighters for a common cause against a common enemy. There can be no backbiting or double-dealing among these countries

These are the principles on which friendship, solidarity and co-operation among the socialist countries are based. It is

for this reason that they can never be shaken and that they display indestructible strength.

Today the imperialists and their henchmen, the revisionists, are viciously scheming to undermine the unity of the socialist camp. At the instigation of the imperialists, the revisionists are slandering the socialist countries and plotting to set them against one another and to overthrow the Parties and Governments of these countries. We must sharpen our vigilance and resolutely fight these subversive activities.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic, always firmly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist norms for mutual relations among the socialist countries, have worked persistently to strengthen friendship and co-operation with all the fraternal countries and safeguard the unity of the socialist camp. Our country has now established an unbreakable alliance with our neighbours, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, under the Treaties of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance. Friendship and co-operation between our people and the peoples of all the socialist countries are consolidating and developing still further.

The Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Republic and the Korean people will continue to make every effort to steadily promote friendship, solidarity and mutual co-operation with the peoples of all socialist countries and to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp.

Our country views it as a consistent line of its foreign policy to establish normal state relations with all countries which respect the freedom and independence of our people, especially to develop relations of friendly co-operation with the independent national states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We will continue to work actively to further cement and promote our relationship with independent national states which have already established friendly state relations with us and to develop amicable relationship with the other Asian, African and Latin-American countries with which we have not yet entered into state relations. We will also endeavour to establish state, economic, and cultural relations with those capitalist

countries desirous of having good relations with our country, and to effect trade and cultural exchange with them based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The revolutionary struggle of the Korean people is an integral part of the struggle of peoples all over the world for peace, national independence and socialism. In the future as well, our Party, Government and people will faithfully carry out their national and international duties, by continuing resolute battles, under the uplifted revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the struggle against imperialism and for socialism and for national liberation.

Comrade Deputies,

Today we are living in an era of unprecedented prosperity in the history of our country and our nation.

Our country's economy is growing steadily, science and technology is rapidly developing and our national culture is blossoming brilliantly. Our cities and villages are growing and taking on a still newer look. The whole life of our people is happy, full of hope and joy and their material well-being and cultural level improve with each passing day. The entire people is rallied steel-strong around the Party and the Government, and the whole country is bursting with unprecedented revolutionary spirit and creative enthusiasm.

It is most important for us at present to stubbornly continue our struggle for the eternal prosperity of the country and the future happiness of the whole nation by firmly safeguarding and consolidating the indestructible unity of our Party, Government and people and by maintaining and increasing the heightened revolutionary zeal of the masses of the people.

Our Party has set forth an impressive programme for the construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic, and all the working people have thrown themselves as one into the struggle to carry it out. By successfully fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan at all costs, the working people, under the leadership of our Party, will make the revolutionary base in the northern half impregnable and will more forcefully encourage and inspire the south Korean people in their struggle

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against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The Korean people, under the leadership of our Party, are certain to accomplish the great task of national reunification and win ultimate victory for the Korean revolution.

Our people, who are led by a Marxist-Leninist Party, hold power firmly in their own hands, and enjoy the active support and encouragement of the great socialist camp and of the progressive peoples of the whole world, will always be victorious in their just struggle.

Let all of us, united firmly around the Party and the Government, march forward courageously for a great new victory!

ON FURTHER DEVELOPING THE TAEAN WORK SYSTEM

Speech at the Enlarged Meeting of the Party Committee of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant
November 9, 1962

At this enlarged meeting of the Party committee of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, I have listened with interest to the committee chairman's report as well as to the speeches made by other comrades.

This is a meeting of victors, summing up the great results achieved over the past year in the struggle to put the Party policies into practice

You have completed this year's plan two months ahead of schedule To fulfil two months ahead of time a one-year, not a three or five-year plan, is an unprecedented achievement for the machine-building industry, which requires precision and a high technical standard.

Because of this, you now have ample time to make technical preparations and store sufficient raw materials for next year's production and have laid a sound basis for achieving even greater successes in the coming year.

Wherever a hard struggle has been undertaken, various negative aspects—such as equipment suffering considerable damage and becoming unfit for use or the factory becoming dirty—are also apt to crop up.

The equipment of this factory, however, has been much

better maintained, and the factory as a whole much better kept than before. The Party members and the workers have raised their technical level and are in high spirits; unity within the factory has been strengthened. Indeed, you have struggled hard, while at the same time keeping everything in order. In this way you have won a great victory in all fields.

This demonstrates conclusively the distinct advantages of the new system of factory management and of directing the process of production, first introduced in this factory at the end of last year.

It must be admitted that the old system of factory management, though socialist, still retained many hangovers from capitalism. Large doses of bureaucracy, departmentalism and selfishness were to be found in that system. Superiors used to shout commands at their subordinates in a bureaucratic way, instead of going down to help the lower units; there was little spirit of co-operation between workshops, and among some people there was a tendency towards selfishness of the "You mind your business, and I'll mind mine" type. Under the old system, therefore, it was not possible to fully develop the activity and creativity of the workers; people busied themselves over nothing, and no big achievements were made in production.

The Taean work system is radically different from the old; it is an advanced system possessing many features of communist industrial management. This new system fully embodies the collectivist, communist principle of life: "One for all and all for one." In this system, superiors help their subordinates, the well-informed are teaching the less-informed, all the people are helping each other as comrades, and all the workshops are co-operating closely.

When I visited this factory last year, I found that Party functionaries and administrators were not on good terms, that the chief engineer and the factory manager were complaining about each other, and that there was little unity between the workers and the intellectuals. On this visit, however, I have found that these shortcomings have been eliminated, that

everyone is working in harmony and united, and that the communist spirit of life prevails throughout the factory.

When the communist principle is strictly observed in work, bureaucracy and egoism naturally disappear. Innovations in production have been made by many comrades, and they have worked devotedly not to get higher wages, but in the interests of the state and the people. If we allow people to become mercenary, it will be impossible to realize the transition to communism. The transition to communism requires not only economic development, but also the transformation of old ideologies in men's minds. It is important above all else to encourage people to work voluntarily and consciously, that is, in a communist way.

Our work system enables people to work and live in a communist way. It unites all, without exception, and allows their devotion and creativity to develop fully, thus bringing about greater results in production.

The great power of the new work system lies in unity and co-operation and the conscious enthusiasm and creativity of the masses; it is the great power which comes into being when Party leadership penetrates deeply into the lower units.

Such power, of course, cannot arise out of a mere reorganization of the management apparatus. Other factories have also reorganized theirs, and in many of them the new apparatus has so far failed to display its full strength.

Only when combined with a corresponding work method will the management apparatus show its full strength. Repeated reorganization of the management apparatus is useless if work is conducted bureaucratically. You have been able to achieve great success because you employed the Chongsan-*ri* method in handling the new management apparatus.

Through your devoted struggle over the past year to fully apply the Chongsan-*ri* method along with the new apparatus, you have achieved great results and have clearly proved the great advantages of the new work system which embodies the communist principle of life.

You have learned from personal experience that the com-

munist method of industrial management and operation introduced by the Party is quite feasible. Moreover, you have played an honourable role as vanguard in the struggle to firmly establish the new work system, showing all the working people of our country that such a work method and system can be applied in other places.

All the members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, and all members of the Cabinet of our Republic have attended this meeting. I have the pleasure of telling you that the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic are very satisfied with your achievements.

All the Party members, workers, technicians, office staff, supply service workers and teachers, to say nothing of the factory Party committee, have made great efforts, united as one, to implement the Party's policies. Even the housewives have taken an active part.

As a rule, when we try to break with the old and create the new, we come face to face with difficulties and people who vacillate. The Party committee and the entire Party membership in this factory, however, have worked consistently and struggled untiringly to implement the Party's policies, valiantly overcoming all difficulties.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I would like to express our gratitude to the members of the factory Party committee, the chairmen and members of the Party-cell committees, all the Party members, members of the Democratic Youth League, the trade union and the Women's Union, and all the workers, technicians and office staff of the factory, who have fought devotedly to carry through the Party's policies.

Let me stress once again the advantages of the new work system established in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, although you have already mentioned many of them in your speeches.

The first advantage of the new work system is that it fully ensures collective management and operation of the factory.

In the past, the manager had sole authority to decide matters in the factory, and he was also responsible for production. The workers took a negligible part in the management and operation of the factory. All they had to do was to work eight hours, do their own jobs and then go home. It was a matter of little concern to them whether production was going well in the factory or not.

By contrast, under the new system, the factory Party committee runs the factory as the supreme body of leadership and all the Party members, workers and technicians participate in the management. Responsibility for production does not rest on any one individual, but on all the Party members, workers and technicians, and above all, on the factory Party committee, the organ of collective leadership.

When the manager bears sole responsibility and the workers and technicians do not participate in the management of production, the workers are not the masters of production but simply employees obeying bureaucratic instructions and orders. This runs counter to the nature of the socialist system, and makes it impossible to develop to the full the creativity and activity of the working masses.

It is advantageous in many ways for the Party committee to discuss important problems and manage the factory along collective lines.

The Party committee of this factory, I am told, is composed of 35 members. If these 35 members discuss matters collectively, many good ideas can be put forward. The committee includes Party cadres, management cadres, and key workers and technicians. It is, therefore, able to take into full consideration the real conditions in the factory—the mentality and technical level of the Party members and workers, as well as technical preparations and supplies of materials and consumer goods, etc. — before laying down a correct line and taking the appropriate measures.

If the Party committee gives correct collective leadership, it can mobilize all the Party members; and if all the Party members are mobilized, they can stimulate all working people

to action. There can be nothing more thorough than collective leadership when all the Party members and all the working people, under the guidance of the Party committee, are consciously striving to increase production and improve factory management. There is no better way of fully drawing upon the collective strength of the factory. If things are worked that way, all problems will be solved correctly and great innovations will be made in production.

Other factories have failed to make any striking achievements since the new management system was introduced. The main reason is that the Party committees there have not performed their functions satisfactorily. The Party committee at the Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, failed to draw upon people who could play a nuclear role, and was mainly made up of people engaged in work of secondary importance. The Party committee, therefore, could not effectively fulfil its functions as an organ of collective leadership. As a result, for some time the work in the Iron Works did not go well. Today, however, by improving the work of the Party committee, they have stabilized production.

You have raised the level of qualifications of the committee members and created conditions for them to express their views fully in order to improve the work of the Party committee. This is very good.

All the achievements of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant have again clearly shown that the first and foremost task in directing production is to strengthen the work of the Party committee and improve the role of the entire Party membership as a vanguard in the factory.

We must continue to improve the role of the Party committee in the factory and of the Party-cell committees in the workshops and assign tasks to each Party member so that the entire Party membership is on the move and all the masses can be mobilized.

Another advantage of the new work system is that it is most effective for the planned management of industry.

As has been shown by the experience of the Taean Electri-

cal Machinery Plant, in order to ensure correct planning, the new system requires that discussions be held directly with the producer masses and that those personally in charge of directing production draw up the plan.

Planning is one of the most important problems in managing a socialist economy. For better planning, it is necessary to take proper account of all factors of production, such as the condition of equipment and supply of materials, the available manpower, and the technical level of the working people. Who are most familiar with all these factors? The workers who take a direct part in production.

The workers are well aware of the condition of equipment, of whether or not raw materials are being supplied without difficulty and of whether or not their fellow workers can handle machinery skilfully. Anyone who does not consult with those who are participating directly in production, but instead just sits at his desk making calculations, will not be able to form a plan to suit reality.

The present textbooks on political economy set many conditions for ensuring good planning. But they do not attach importance to the necessity of carrying out a mass line in planning. I think we ought to compile a new textbook of political economy that will accord with the mass line.

A plan drawn up without the participation of the mass of producers is a subjective plan. And to force such a plan upon the lower units is an act of bureaucracy. The state plan, the plan of a management bureau, the plan of a factory and even of a workshop must be drawn up after consultation with the producers themselves.

Some people, I have learned, allege that the workers are inclined to do only what is easy. This idea is wrong and shows a lack of faith in the revolutionary nature of the workers. The working class is the main force in the building of socialism and communism. Once the workers have a correct understanding of things, they can work out measures for the solution of all problems.

In 1957, when our Party was faced with a most difficult

situation, we talked with the workers about measures for overcoming the difficulties. We talked to them frankly about the difficult situation that had been created at home and abroad, and helped them to understand that the only way out was to accelerate economic construction, through economizing and increasing production. As a result, the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant produced 120,000 tons at their blooming mill which, according to its former rated capacity, was only able to turn out 60,000 tons. This is an example which shows that when a plan has been worked out after consultation with the masses, and the masses have accepted it as their own, it can certainly be fulfilled, however hard and heavy the efforts involved.

If we had drawn up the plan in Pyongyang without discussing it with the masses, we would have accepted the capacity of the blooming mill of the Kangson Steel Plant as only 60,000 tons and, even if we had planned a target exceeding 60,000 tons, it would not have been reached.

This year the Hwanghae Iron Works has had problems. This is due to the fact that the metal management bureau, turning a deaf ear to the proposals of the workers, has been carrying out its work in a bureaucratic manner. The production targets may have been set a little high, but the plan for this year could definitely have been carried out if the management bureau had discussed it with the workers and, according to their opinions, taken the positive steps.

We should always strictly abide by the principle of drawing up plans on the basis of discussion with the mass of producers, so that they may accept those plans as their own.

A plan must be drafted by those who actually direct production. In the past, the metal management bureau left the drafting entirely to the planning workers; those directing production sent the draft up to their superiors without even casting a glance at it, while they themselves handled the work as they pleased, without referring to the plan. That is why there was no plan based on real conditions of production and why the direction of production according to plan could not be guaranteed.

The new work system enables those directing production to draw up the plan through discussions with the workers—the actual producers—inducing them to see the plan as their own; this is a great advantage, we can say.

Another advantage of the Taean work system is that it helps to improve the technical guidance of production and guarantee co-ordinated guidance of the production process.

Production processes are, in the final analysis, technical processes. Without technical knowledge, we cannot direct production. Production must be directed along technological lines.

Those who are familiar with techniques should direct, in a co-ordinated way, all the work directly connected with production—from planning to technical preparations and the production processes themselves.

Under the old work system the different sections connected with production were cut off from each other and there was no general staff to give co-ordinated direction to production.

The battle in each factory is a battle to guarantee production. Everything must be subordinated to this aim and the person who directs production must take on the role of chief of staff. The planning, preparation and direction of production should be under the control of one person. There will be little co-ordination if these tasks are divided up among several people.

Who should assume the role of chief of staff in the factory? Possibly the manager or the chief engineer, but whoever does, he should be skilled in technology. The chief engineer would be a good choice, because the manager must see to the general affairs of the factory.

In the army, too, the chief of staff prepares for and organizes the battle. Just as the chief of staff must be proficient in everything—from working out the plan of operations to preparing for and commanding battles—so the chief engineer must know all about production and direct all the different processes in a unified way.

This is a work system created on the basis of experiences

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accumulated in the course of our long struggle. The experiences of one year in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant have shown that the establishment of a unified general staff led by the chief engineer has great advantages in that it ensures the efficient direction of production.

Furthermore, the new work system has radically improved the role of those sections which serve to ensure that production goes smoothly.

In the past, materials were not supplied on time to those engaged in production.

Superiors issued memos but assumed no responsibility for supplying materials; the responsibility fell on the shoulders of those engaged in production. This compelled shop managers and other responsible personnel to spend most of their time not on directing production but on rushing around trying to get hold of materials. This is a bureaucratic and capitalist method of work.

Now that we have established a system in which the higher levels supply the lower levels with materials, the shop managers are able to devote themselves to their own work without having to worry about materials. They are now able to concentrate all their efforts on the direction of production, the maintenance of equipment and improving the technical level of the workers.

The decisive factors in production are people and tools—that is, producers and equipment. The supply of raw materials is important as well, but there are people especially in charge of that; those directing production have only to concern themselves with doing a good job with people and with technical equipment. During my current visit to the factory I talked with shop managers and found that they were not wasting time on securing materials, but concentrated their efforts on the maintenance of equipment, on raising the ideological and technical level of the workers and on directing production. This is very good.

To ensure a smooth supply of materials from the higher levels to the lower it would be advisable to set up warehouses

in the machine-building factories for semi-finished goods. This is especially important in the factories which assemble machinery, using many kinds of components and semi-finished goods.

By storing components and semi-finished goods and supplying them on time, these warehouses can perform the functions of command posts for the co-operation in production between the different sections of one enterprise. By maintaining close contact with each workshop, they should systematically stock up on the materials necessary for co-operative production and have no difficulties in supplying the sections which need them. They should not limit themselves to just storing goods but should strive to know exactly how many, and what kind of components and materials are needed by each section; they must always keep in stock the materials necessary to meet demand.

The maintenance of a reserve of materials makes it possible to remove imbalances in production. But at present, it often happens that many warehouses, although keeping materials in store, have an excessive amount of unnecessary stock and too few of the items that are really required. If we are to eliminate these practices and ensure a smooth flow of materials and co-operation among different sections of production, warehouse-keepers must participate in drafting plans and have a thorough grasp of the true state of affairs of production in the factories concerned.

The supply agencies under the management bureau should also be made responsible for the effective functioning of interfactory co-operation in production. In order to create the reserves of materials needed by different factories, the functionaries of the supply agencies must have a good grasp of the production process and have a say in eliminating rejects, regulating output and shortening production time. In this way, the supply agencies will be able to fulfil the role of command posts for the co-operation in production and ensure a smooth supply for the different factories.

If we are to achieve good results in production we must

also set up efficient supply services for the welfare of the workers.

In the past there were *no* bodies responsible for tending to the everyday needs of the workers. But under the new work system supply services have been established to give the workers stable conditions in their everyday life.

In the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant a supply committee was organized for this purpose; the committee comprised one deputy manager of the factory for supply services, and representatives of all the bodies in the factory workers' district eligible for supply services, such as government organs, general stores, agricultural and livestock farms, co-operative farms, etc. Thus, a new supply-service system was established, one fully responsible for providing for the everyday needs of the workers in the district.

In the past all these bodies operated in a departmentalistic way, never attempting to develop close mutual relations. As a result, they failed to furnish supplies to the workers even when they were available.

However, since the formation of the supply committee under the guidance of a deputy manager for supply services, these bodies have begun to work in close co-operation to ensure stable conditions for the workers. This has led to considerable improvement in supply services. We must continue to develop this supply-service system in the future.

As we have seen, one year's experience at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant confirms that the new work system advanced by our Party has fully shown the advantages of arousing the enthusiasm and creativity of the working masses, of strengthening the direction of production and of ensuring supply services for production and the daily needs of workers.

We deem it necessary to further develop this work system, introducing it in other sectors.

A revolutionary fighting spirit is most important in introducing the new work system. To carry through the Party's policies we must persevere, bravely overcoming all difficul-

ties. This is exactly what we should learn from the experience of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. No matter how good the work system may be, you cannot give full play to all its advantages if you lack this fighting spirit.

Now I am going to speak of your tasks ahead.

True, you have had great successes, but you must realize that they are the result of only one year's work. You still have a number of shortcomings in your work and there are still many points to be studied and developed. Your task is to work hard constantly to perfect the new work system on the basis of what has already been achieved.

You must strive to further rationalize the management apparatus of the factory and also to make more efforts to improve your methods of work. The new system is, in a word, a communist system of work. All personnel should master the communist style and method of work, otherwise they will not be able to maintain, let alone improve, this new work system. All of you must, therefore, equip yourselves more fully with the Chongsan-*ri* method and Chongsan-*ri* spirit.

Moreover, you should constantly pay close attention to strengthening the leading role of the Party in the factory. The Party committee and the Party cells should be strengthened and the vanguard role of the Party members enhanced.

All the Party members and the Party committee are the masters of the factory. Everything is decided, organized and led by the Party.

The factory Party committee accomplished its tasks with credit last year. It discerned the weak points of work in the factory in time, roused the Party members to surmount difficulties, and firmly carried the Party's policies through to the end. In other words, it can be said that the factory Party committee has done a good job of taking its position at the helm. The committee did a good job of educating both Party members and the working masses in our revolutionary traditions and uniting them, and it has also achieved good results in the cultural revolution

I think it is necessary to improve Party work in other

factories as well, following the example of the Party committee of this factory.

There are Party functionaries who just rush around carrying brief cases. This practice will get no result. If Party functionaries are simply on the move, rushing here and there from early morning on like travelling salesman, they cannot stay at the helm. They should go deeply among the masses to study their work, give them orientations and always offer help to them in their work. Yet, in fact, the South Pyongan Provincial Party Committee rendered no great assistance to the work of the Party Committee of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. The Party must always take the helm.

Another lesson we should draw from the work of this factory's Party committee is the correct placement of Party forces. Great efforts have been made here, after placing the Party members at important posts, to raise their vanguard role. At present, the Party members in this factory have acquired a higher technical level and are undertaking more difficult tasks than the non-Party workers.

When we visit the co-operative farms, we find many cases of Party forces being distributed incorrectly. Party members are assigned to tasks of secondary importance, fail to achieve good results in production, and fail to stand in the forefront in hard work.

If Party members do easy work and indulge in empty talk, how can they claim to be playing the vanguard role? Party members must first set an example in production. They should take up difficult and important positions in production and, in comparison with non-Party workers, should work more enthusiastically, study technique more earnestly, organize their life in a more cultured way and behave modestly without any trace of arrogance. Only then can the Party members win prestige, be heard among the masses and help them advance.

We must continue to work hard in all fields, in the factories and in the villages, to strengthen the role of the Party members.

Furthermore, it is important to give full scope to the revo-

lutionary spirit of self-reliance. The spirit of self-reliance is one of making revolution by one's own efforts. We must arm ourselves with the indomitable revolutionary spirit which will enable us to produce what is lacking, to procure what is in short supply, to learn what we do not know through study, and to surmount all trials and difficulties bravely, never shrinking from them.

We must manage anything through our own efforts, not relying on the strength of others. We have received aid from the peoples of the fraternal countries, but this is only one of the conditions for accelerating our development. What is decisive is the struggle of our own people.

Take the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant for example. It was built without outside aid. We have built over 2,000 locally-run factories in all parts of the country, all without outside aid. We are now building all our factories, large and small, mainly through our own efforts We are drawing up technical blueprints and carrying out construction on our own.

Needless to say, we import some machinery from foreign countries, but this we buy with our own money, we do not receive them free of charge. In the future we will continue to import some necessary machinery Self-reliance does not mean refusing to use machines made by others. Nor does it mean opposition to learning from others, nor total rejection of foreign aid. The point is that self-reliance should be the basic principle guiding our activities.

It is better, of course, to manufacture machinery by ourselves as far as we can. Last year you manufactured some heavy machinery on your own, and it would be a good thing to turn out more in the future. I fully approve of your suggestion to make more machines by yourselves instead of importing them from abroad.

If we had imported the machines you made last year, it would have taken us three years to obtain them How can we wait three years when even one day's time is so precious for our construction? We must boldly manufacture everything we can for our own use.

We have been able to ride Chollima because we have the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. No one helped us to mount him. If someone who does not know how to ride is put on horseback, he may fall and get hurt. We mounted Chollima by ourselves; and we are now galloping forward with a free rein.

We must work harder to reach still higher peaks in the next three to four years. In the first place, we must radically improve the living standards of the people. An important task in this context is to supply the entire population with rice as their staple food. This calls for a production of 3 million tons of rice.

It would be foolish to count on others to help us do this. It is by our own efforts that we must strive to provide sufficient rice as a staple product for all the people.

What should we do to solve this problem? Irrigation projects should be carried out extensively and more tractors, lorries and chemical fertilizers should be produced. The tasks ahead of you are to produce more generators, electric motors and transformers.

The solution of the rice problem will enable us to use other grains as fodder and in this way we can also solve the meat problem.

If we work efficiently we will be able to get more of fish. If you turn out more electric equipment, we can build more fishing boats and catch more fish.

It is also well within our capacity to solve the question of having everybody live in tile-roofed houses.

We have a sound foundation for building a better life in the future. It is fully possible for us to enjoy a decent life through our own efforts. This is our right and no one can deprive us of it.

Furthermore, you must continuously wage a vigorous struggle for raising the quality of products and economizing on materials. You all handle copper, mica and silk and many other valuable materials. If you cut down rejects to a minimum and save these materials, it will bring great benefits to the state.

In order to improve the quality of products, we must increase the technical level of the workers and technicians. Greater efforts should be made to study more extensively both foreign and Korean technical literature and to master the latest techniques. Technicians should never rest content but carry on a resolute struggle to quickly reach the level of advanced technology in the world today.

Now, the work of training cadres should be improved. This factory should be a model to other factories and should give them active assistance. Therefore, you should train many cadres and send some of them to other factories.

All the workers of this factory should be trained as cadres. In the old days, so we are told, it was considered necessary for a person to have both literary and military accomplishments; today it is necessary for you to become cadres armed with advanced technology and revolutionary ideology.

When you do this, your factory can play a great part in developing the machine-building industry of our country. It is a task of great importance. I should like you to accept this task at this meeting and strive to carry it out.

Next, you should improve the supply service for the welfare of the workers. In your hostel I found many things that still need to be improved. If we were to give marks, it would barely "pass." You should fix up your hostel better so that it may be rated "excellent." Conditions should be improved in the supply service, and villages and houses should be kept cleaner and run in a more modern way. You must see that the supply of vegetables is kept up, and that a sufficient amount of cooking oil and some 200 grammes of seafood are supplied to each worker every day If you get only a "pass" mark in your supply service, you cannot become a cadre detachment Only after having developed the work in this factory satisfactorily, will it serve as an example for you when you are transferred to another factory as a cadre.

Orchards should be laid out on the hills behind the factory and its surroundings should be kept cleaner. And you must all lead your life more culturally. We still meet peo-

ple who pay no attention to their personal appearance. You should ensure that workers and their families are always well-groomed.

We have learned a lot at this meeting from your good experiences. I suggest that the experience accumulated at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant be popularized in other fields. I wish you even greater success in your future work.

ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPING THE COUNTY CO-OPERATIVE FARM MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Party Functionaries and Agricultural Workers of South Pyongan Province

November 13, 1962

We have heard the report on the work of the Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee and listened to speeches by many comrades at this meeting

The Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee has clearly proved, through its experiences during a year of work, that the organization of the county co-operative farm management committees was timely and that the committees offer great advantages as a system of socialist agricultural management.

The first advantage offered by the county co-operative farm management committees is that these committees give leadership to the rural economy by the industrial method of management.

In the past, the people's committees used mainly administrative methods in directing agriculture In the days of private peasant economy, this was quite all right.

But collectivized socialist agriculture cannot be directed by administrative methods. Moreover, since the co-operative farms had been enlarged and had turned into a large-scale socialist farm with an average of more than 300 households and over 500

chongbo of farm land and rapid progress had been made in agricultural techniques, it was quite impossible to direct agriculture effectively by the same administrative methods used in the past. Socialist agriculture, which is operated on a large scale and equipped with modern technology, must be directed by the industrial methods.

In capitalist countries as well, all large farms worked by machines are run by the industrial method. This shows that even though the capitalist and socialist economies are fundamentally different economic forms, technically advanced large-scale agriculture, of whatever kind, can be managed only with the industrial method.

What is the industrial method of management? It consists of directly controlling, organizing and concretely guiding all the activities of an enterprise—from planning to the organization of production, the development of technology, the supply of materials, the allocation and organization of the labour force and the financial activities of the enterprise.

The keystone of the industrial method of management is technical guidance of production.

Agricultural production, like industrial production, represents a technical process. When farming was done by hand, with no machinery, technology did not seem to count for much in agriculture. But, as its technological transformation has forged ahead, it has become more and more obvious that agricultural production must also go through technical processes.

A modern irrigation system has been established in our countryside now, and moreover, numerous tractors and other farm machines are in operation and chemistry is being applied gradually. Without industrial method of management and technical guidance, it would be utterly impossible to direct agriculture such as this.

The technical guidance of agricultural production requires measures to ensure an equitable distribution of machines and equipment and the timely repair and replacement of equipment, to raise the technical and skill levels of the producers

and to provide for the rational utilization of all machines and equipment. Moreover, continued building of irrigation projects and good management of irrigation facilities are necessary. Water control, to take one example, is by no means a simple matter. The pumping equipment must be checked and repaired every now and then, and watering and drainage should be done according to plan. Water control is also a technical process. In addition, electrification and chemicalization must be introduced and all farming techniques related to readjustment of fields, soil improvement and seed production must be developed rapidly.

We are now in a position where we can neither farm well nor lead farming without technological know-how.

Moreover, we are confronted with the important task of speeding up the development of the productive forces in agriculture by promoting the technical revolution in the countryside. Technical knowledge is indispensable for directing and energetically pushing ahead with the technical revolution.

Because the co-operative farms were enlarged and their technical equipment was rapidly improved and because the technical revolution came to the fore as a top-priority, immediate task in the countryside, it was absolutely necessary to abolish the old administrative system of agricultural management and establish a new system of management based on the industrial method.

The question here arises of what unit size should be adopted for directing agriculture using the industrial method of management.

A co-operative farm is too small. It does not have enough management and technical cadres, nor does it have an economic foundation for effecting the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture. The province, on the contrary, is too large.

Therefore, we chose the county as the basic unit. A county has plenty of technical and management cadres and has practically all the state enterprises that serve agriculture—farm machine stations, farm machine repair shops, irrigation administration offices, etc. Besides, each county has around 10,000

chongbo of farm land. The county, therefore, is a suitable unit for directing agriculture using the industrial method of management, and it is also a convenient unit for the comprehensive use of all technical equipment.

The Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee has achieved great successes in agricultural production through its leadership of the co-operative farms within the county using the industrial method of management. Our experience has shown that, given the actual conditions of our country, the county is the most rational unit to use in giving leadership to the co-operative farms using the industrial method of management.

Another advantage offered by the county co-operative farm management committee is its organic combination of ownership by all the people with co-operative ownership and its strengthening of state guidance and assistance to the co-operative economy.

In the past, the tractor-hire station was the main link connecting the co-operative with the all-people, state economy in many socialist countries. It was through the tractor-hire station that the state made technical assistance available to the co-operative economy and promoted the technical revolution in the countryside. However, even though the tractor-hire station provided technical assistance for the farmers, it could not directly lead the productive activities of the co-operative economy in a comprehensive way.

The rural technical revolution in our country cannot be brought about successfully without making comprehensive use of all the state-owned technical equipment needed in agriculture with the powerful support of the state. We have, therefore, followed a policy of steadily expanding and strengthening the farm machine stations, irrigation administration offices and other state-owned enterprises that directly serve agriculture and promoting the technical revolution in the countryside with them as the base.

The county people's committees which used to directly guide agriculture were unable to give technical guidance to it

because they lacked the material and technical means required for assisting the co-operative farms. In addition, there was no county organization that exercised a unified control over the state enterprises serving the rural economy, and so these enterprises did not play their role effectively in the development of agriculture.

We have set up county co-operative farm management committees and made them responsible for guiding the co-operative farms using the industrial method of management, based on the unified control over all enterprises—farm machine stations, farm implement factories, irrigation administration offices, anti-epizootic centres, etc.—and over the technical equipment and the technical forces, which are owned by the state in the field of the rural economy. In this way state ownership is organically combined with co-operative ownership and the state's technical and economic assistance to the co-operative economy is decisively strengthened.

This has enabled the groups of technicians sent out by the state and the technical equipment of the state to serve the co-operative farms better. Moreover, this created favourable conditions for the continuous replenishment and improvement of technical equipment and enabled us to speed the technical revolution in the countryside more actively.

It was generally agreed that rice cultivation makes the mechanization of agriculture very difficult in our country, but the establishment of the management committees has made it possible for the co-operative farms and the technical forces and farm machine stations of the state to actively work toward a solution of this problem by maintaining an organic link between them. As a result, a definite way has been found to mechanize our agricultural production.

The formation of the county co-operative farm management committees has strengthened the co-operative economy, not only materially and technically but also organizationally and economically.

Unlike the private peasant economy, which is a scattered, small-scale undertaking which develops spontaneously, the co-

operative economy is, of course, a collectivized socialist economy which develops according to plan. However, compared with the state economy, which represents ownership by all the people, the co-operative economy is loose-knit and organizationally weak.

By organically linking up the co-operative with the state economy, which is a higher economic form, we have done away with the remaining manifestations of disorderliness and spontaneity found in the co-operative farms and have made them an economy more tightly organized, better co-ordinated and more powerful.

In fact, it may be said that the co-operative farms used to do their work carelessly, without mutual co-ordination on a county-wide basis. In planning production, therefore, individual co-operative farms could not do a good job of estimating the amount of water, machinery, electric power, materials and other items available and, consequently, their plans would go out of kilter.

However, with the organization of the county co-operative farm management committees, the co-operative farms within each county have developed close ties and are now able to work out production plans on the basis of correct estimates of machinery, equipment, materials and everything else. In other words, the co-operative farms now find themselves in a position to develop more systematically, more according to plan than before.

The organic combination of state and co-operative ownership has also made it possible to radically improve the management of the co-operative farms themselves. Earlier, each management board relied only on its own strength in its work and, therefore, could not efficiently manage the large co-operative farm, which took in about 300 households. The management staff of the co-operative farm could not properly handle such complex affairs as labour administration, the management of the farm's finances and property, the fixing of a correct ratio of accumulation to consumption, etc.—to say nothing of drawing up plans. However, the county co-operative farm manage-

ment committees can give appropriate assistance to the management staffs of the co-operative farms so that the latter can deal with all these affairs correctly by introducing the superior methods of management of the state economy, and thus can ensure more effective management of the co-operative farms.

The new system of agricultural management is also fully in line with the further development of the socialist co-operative economy.

In the future, when the technological reconstruction of agriculture has been effected and thus machinery has replaced manual labour in agriculture as in industry, easing the work of all people and providing them with abundance, the co-operative economy will be transformed into one owned by all the people.

Some people hold that the transition to communist society can be achieved while the co-operative economy is retained and even go so far as to say that we can go over to communism if the private economy had been left intact. This is entirely incorrect.

Of course, I do not intend to dwell here on what stages the socialist economy has to go through to achieve the transition to communism, but there is no doubt that, in order to attain communism, the country's economy must be unified in *any way under a single form of ownership—ownership by all* the people—and that, accordingly, co-operative ownership must be converted into ownership by all the people.

The organization of the county co-operative farm management committees is the most rational way of bringing co-operative ownership constantly closer to ownership by all the people, by strengthening the leading role of state ownership over co-operative ownership and by establishing a closer relationship between these two forms.

Even though, at present, there is a sharp distinction between the co-operative and state economies, in the future, when further advances have been made in mechanization and chemicalization and nearly all the distinctions between farm and in-

strial labour have been eliminated, it will be possible to introduce an eight-hour workday and go over to the wage system in the countryside, as well.

We plan to introduce the cost-accounting system in the county co-operative farm management committees if they achieve good results in the next few years. The state could see to it that the tractor drivers and the management committee personnel are guaranteed a minimum wage and draw a large part of their incomes according to the results registered in production. This would provide an added incentive for the personnel of the state enterprises, like the co-operative farmers, to increase production.

We already have some experience in applying cost accounting with the county as the unit. We did this at the Unggi and Ryongyon Farms, with good results. In the past, state farms in our country often ran in the red because they had a low level of mechanization and employed defective management methods. When we raised their level of mechanization and introduced the cost-accounting system in their workteams, the state farms grew profitable and benefited the state.

Even if we introduce cost accounting with the county as the unit in the future, co-operative ownership will have to be preserved. And, in introducing the cost-accounting system in the county co-operative farm management committees, there is no need to treat all of them uniformly. This system shoul first be introduced in those counties where mechanization comparatively advanced; you may leave for later such areas Changsong County, where manual labour predominates.

Thus, when the cost-accounting system is introduced o county basis and the technical revolution makes more prog in the countryside, the worker-peasant alliance will be stren ened and the ideological influence of the working class o farmers will be even greater. Moreover, as mechanization es ahead on a full scale, the differences between the pro forces in industry and those in agriculture will be gr done away with, the material and cultural level of th ers' life will be improved and the distinctions betwe

and countryside will be reduced gradually. This will make it possible for us to develop the co-operative economy to a still higher level.

But we must not be too hasty in transforming co-operative ownership into ownership by all the people.

There are still considerable differences between farm and industrial labour in our country. A great deal of mechanization is still needed in agriculture, as a large proportion of the work is done by manual labour.

Therefore, organizing work and appraising its results is no easy task. You cannot check, stalk by stalk, whether a prescribed amount of fertilizer has been applied before planting the crops or whether weeding has been done, nor can you easily find out whether the farmers have done their work well or have idled away their time, getting by in the crowd. Moreover, farm labour does not yield immediate results as does industrial labour; the crops planted in the spring are subject to many different work processes before they are harvested in the autumn, and, in addition, they may be influenced by climatic conditions and many other natural factors. It is, therefore, difficult to appraise the labour put in on the basis of its results.

Owing to these diverse circumstances, the farmers generally lag behind the workers in the development of their political consciousness and suffer much from selfishness.

It can be said that it would be a grave error to nationalize the co-operative economy hastily or to introduce a pay-by-the-hour system for the farmers in disregard of the differences between industrial and farm labour.

The organic linking up of co-operative ownership with ownership by all the people which we are now undertaking is by no means intended to weaken co-operative ownership or put an end to it at once; on the contrary, it is meant to strengthen it.

It is necessary, under the present conditions, to make a clear distinction between state ownership and co-operative ownership. The farmers also want this.

What we must do today is provide continuous state guidance and assistance to the co-operative economy, thereby fur-

ngthening its material and technical foundations; stim-
e farmers' zeal for higher production; and raise their
d of living quickly.

r the transformation of co-operative ownership into
ship by all the people, we must, first of all, introduce
und mechanization in agriculture so that machines do
ically all the work and men are needed only in a supple-
tary capacity; we must reshape the thought of the farmers
carrying out more communist education among them.

Only by so doing will we be able to transform co-operative
vnership into ownership by all the people smoothly and lead
ne farmers to communism. It is true that more things will
become clear in the future as our work progresses, but our ex-
perience in the past period and in this year's work has con-
vinced us that our present course represents a correct path
to communism.

Now I would like to touch upon the major tasks confront-
ing the county co-operative farm management committees.

In our practical work over the past year, we have clearly
realized that the county co-operative farm management com-
mittees founded by our Party offer tremendous advantages. We
can say that we have found a very expedient way of solving
the rural question in the future.

But, with only one year's experience, we cannot yet claim
to have grasped all the advantages and shortcomings of the
new system of management. In the course of practice we must
discover more of its strong points and shortcomings and make
continued efforts to further consolidate and develop the new
system of management.

First of all, it is essential to consolidate the county co-
operative farm management committees organizationally and
technically. It is necessary to reinforce the ranks of our man-
agement committee cadres with educated people experienced in
agriculture; to raise their professional level rapidly; and, in
particular, to increase the number of technicians. We mus
actively push ahead with our work of expanding the ranks
the tractor drivers, who play an important role in agricu

tural production, and of raising their technological level. The tractor platoons and companies should be further strengthened, and the technical and skill levels of the workers of the farm machine stations and irrigation administration offices should be raised decisively. Moreover, the ranks of our technicians in the countryside should be greatly expanded, so that an agronomist or assistant agronomist may be allocated to every co-operative farm workteam and the chief agronomist system may be introduced in the co-operative farms, as well.

Thus, the county co-operative farm management committees should be further strengthened both organizationally and technically so that all the departments of the management committees and all the state-owned enterprises under their guidance can carry out their duties satisfactorily.

The important question in strengthening the work of the county co-operative farm management committees is to improve the methods of work of their officials.

Most of the present chairmen of the management committees are former chairmen of people's committees. When they were transferred to the management committees, they brought their old administrative style of work along with them.

A bureaucratic style of work—shouting commands and issuing orders—was harmful in the past, when they worked in the people's committees but it is even more intolerable today, in the management committees.

The management committees themselves should organize and lead production. They will never solve problems by roaring commands and issuing instructions while sitting in an office. The old, bureaucratic, administrative style of work should be completely eliminated and priority should be given to political work in all cases, work with the people being given the first place. Effective work should be done with the technicians, with the chairmen and workteam leaders of the co-operative farms and the farmers. The officials of the management committees should be faithful servants of the people, not those who just give orders and issue instructions.

It is shameful to become servile minions of the landlords or

capitalists or to fawn upon and become servants of the influential, but it is an honour to become faithful servants of the people. Management committee officials should faithfully serve the interests of the co-operative farms and the farmers.

To be a faithful servant of the people, one must thoroughly apply the Chongsan-*ri* method to all activities. The Chongsan-*ri* method means going down to the grass-roots units to give assistance and solve their most pressing problems, instead of imposing tasks upon them bureaucratically. You should go among the farmers to consult with them and teach them kindly; you should study the actual conditions thoroughly and offer concrete guidance and assistance in such a way that the people at the lower levels may willingly accept them.

The Taean system of work should be introduced in production leadership and enterprise management. A system for directing production should be thoroughly established; the level of planning raised; and the supply of fertilizer, agricultural chemicals and other materials always ensured by the higher levels.

If, in the work of the county co-operative farm management committees, we combine the Taean method of industrial management with the Chongsan-*ri* method properly, the advantages of the new system of agricultural management will be brought out fully and innovations will be made incessantly in the development of agriculture.

Another important task is that of raising the rate of utilization of equipment.

At present, the county co-operative farm management committees have a considerable amount of equipment and facilities at their disposal. In Sukchon County, there are 262 water-lifting machines, an extensive irrigation system with 400 kilometres of canals and a large amount of equipment—more than 200 tractors plus trucks, different farm machines, transformers, electric motors, pumps, etc. We can say that this is quite a large undertaking, on a par with a top-grade industrial enterprise.

But the rate of utilization of the facilities is very low.

This year the rate of utilization of water has been improved somewhat, compared with last year, as a result of the establishment of a command system in the control of water and a campaign for the better use of water. Yet, even now, a lot of water is still wasted.

Those of you who have lived in Sukchon County for a long time are probably only too well acquainted with the miserable existence of our peasants in those days when there were not any irrigation facilities. In those days, a short spell of dry weather was enough to reduce everyone to destitution, forcing them to pack up and set out to beg for food. Therefore, in the difficult days following the war, we launched a truly hard-fought struggle, surmounting all hardships, to build irrigation facilities. At present we are turning out as many pumps as we need for ourselves, but for several years after the ceasefire we had to import them, in the face of great difficulties.

If we fail to make effective use of the irrigation facilities which we set up at the cost of such effort and if, failing to use the water properly, we waste it after it has been brought from places thousands of *ri* away expending a lot of electricity and money; it is a very serious matter. No water at all should be wasted; every drop of it should be used to irrigate the paddies and dry fields. Even water which has already been used in irrigation once should be recovered and turned to account again.

You are mistaken if you think that our pumps are entirely dependent on electricity. If you bring electricity from a far-distant place, over long stretches of wire, to irrigate only a few scores of *chongbo* of paddies and dry fields, it is tantamount to shooting a sparrow with a cannon. It entails a great waste of electricity and materials, and it does not pay.

Wide use should be made of motors not operated by electric power. As many pumps as possible should also be turned out in the provinces Then, small-sized pumps should be coupled to tractors so as to lift water wherever necessary.

Moreover, the rate of utilization of the tractors should be increased drastically. Tractors can be used for various purposes.

Yet, at present, most of them are used only in ploughing the fields and for haulage in the countryside.

Onchon County, for example, has received many tractors, but is not making good use of them. A tremendous amount of work can be done by 100 to 200 tractors, yet they are used only to plough the fields and are then left standing idle. Of course, the ministry concerned and the provinces are also to blame, for they turn out only electric-powered machines—none which can be tractor-operated.

As you have mentioned in your speeches, tractors can be used in weeding and harvesting as well as in ploughing and they can also be used for pumping water anywhere you want. Tractors can be used for multiple purposes by fitting them with cranes or earth scrapers. Nevertheless, tractors stand idle while the farmers continue to carry heavy loads on their backs, just as they always have. This is entirely wrong.

Farm mechanization depends on the effective use of tractors. An important task of the management committees being to effect the mechanization of agriculture, it is a serious matter to fail to use tractors effectively and keep them idle.

The management committees should pay close attention to keeping their tractors in good working order and using them for multiple purposes to promote the mechanization of agriculture.

We must produce various types of farm machines for comprehensive farm mechanization.

We must see to it that besides tractors, other farm machines, suitable for use in our agriculture, are devised and manufactured to mechanize all aspects of farm work. It is necessary to make tractors of different kinds, both large and small, in addition to the Chollima model.

No farmer is against emancipation from toil. Conservatism with regard to mechanization can be found in the minds of the leading agricultural personnel, but not among the farmers.

Our officials, in particular, have become less enthusiastic about mechanization lately. The main reason for this is that

the state provides a voluntary labour force readily. Provinces and counties have fallen into the habit of depending on this voluntary labour force and do not work hard to introduce mechanization.

In our country today, not only the farmers, but the whole nation take part in farming. This, of course, is not a normal situation.

In other socialist countries a great labour force is released from the countryside by agricultural mechanization and allocated to industrial construction, but our country, far from releasing any labour force from the countryside, has to give it continued labour assistance. Farming in our country is done on an intensive basis, and, for this reason, a considerable labour force will be needed in the rural areas even after the introduction of mechanization. As a matter of fact, mechanization can hardly be introduced in intercropping and mixed planting. And we still have many types of work which are difficult to mechanize, such as is involved in rice transplanting and tending cold-frame rice seedlings.

This is why our Party is following the line of solving the problem of the shortage of an industrial labour force by speeding up mechanization and automation in industry to the utmost, and not drawing off any more labour power from the countryside.

Since the state will not take labour away from the rural areas, the peasants, for their part, should try to hold up their end without receiving additional labour. This requires speedy mechanization.

The experience gained in Sukchon County shows that, if we carry out comprehensive mechanization by the effective use of tractors and other farm machines, we will be able to do farming with the existing rural labour force and free the farmers from heavy work, as proposed by the state. When labour-consuming work is performed by machines and the farmers raise good crops by working eight or nine hours a day like the workers, we will be able to say that we have generally effected a technical revolution in the countryside. Then the farmers will

are time for study and will be able to enjoy a rest free-he winter. We must strive to complete this phase of the cal revolution as a first step.

Ve have created an adequate technical base for agricultur-echanization. Comprehensive mechanization of agriculture ell within our reach, provided we produce large quantities the great variety of farm machines that we can make, turn t more animal-drawn machines and use them effectively.

We do not as yet have the conditions for introducing au-omation in the countryside. Therefore, there is no need to go in for excessively large-scale mechanization. It is necessary to employ every possible method conducive to easing the work of the farmers and saving labour.

It would be a good idea either to use animal-drawn ma-chines or to turn out simple, hand-operated machines in large numbers by making improvements on simple farm implements. I don't understand why you do not make carts. Three-wheeled vehicles are preferable in farm villages where the roads are rough, as they are light and handy. If items such as these are made and used, it will be possible to carry loads faster even without the peasants breaking their backs.

There is no need to try to introduce mechanization uni-formly in all counties. You would do well to send large num-bers of tractors to the flat areas first, and, as for the mountain areas, make and supply the types of farm machines suitable for that terrain.

The policy now being followed by our Party consistently in the development of agriculture is that of effecting mechani-zation in the countryside, thus freeing the farmers from toil-some work and ensuring farm production with the existing rural labour force. The management committees, therefor should do everything possible to introduce mechanization agriculture in order to carry through this policy of the Par

Further, the management committees should exert vig-ous efforts to make better use of land. Land is the most im-tant asset in agriculture. Machines and labour are also im-tant, but they are of no use without land. It is, therefore, n

sary to increase the utilization of land to the maximum through effective readjustments of fields and soil improvement.

At present there are too many ridges between the different rice paddies. This is the main reason why in the autumn the actual yields fall short of the crop estimates made by unit-area sampling. Extensive work in land readjustment should be done to remove many of the ridges between the paddies, bringing bulldozers from the sector of construction and using Chollima tractors with earth scrapers attached. Furthermore, the edges of fields, the sides of roads and all other available space must be planted with as many crops as possible.

Much of our country's soil is acid, and much is deficient in iron and other micro-elements, calcium and other elements required by plants.

We do not have enough land to introduce crop rotation, and this compels us to carry out systematic soil improvement. New soil should be spread over the fields on an extensive scale, slaked lime should be applied to the acid soil, and chemical fertilizers and slag should be applied in quantity to poor soil to improve it.

Besides, land conservation work must be carried out properly. I have stressed this time and again, yet the results still leave much to be desired. With a view to actively protecting land, river improvement projects must be properly carried out, and the dykes carefully protected.

It is also necessary to work on seed improvement properly. This year, by using selected seeds, per-*chongbo* yields have been increased by more than a ton in many places. We should constantly improve seed strains and sow superior seeds on the right soil. A scientific system of manuring should be established and compost produced according to plan so that it may be applied liberally.

In addition to settling these technical matters, it is very important to do our planning well. The efforts of the management boards of the co-operative farms alone will not suffice. One of the main reasons for this, it appears, is that each management board cannot reckon with the exact amount of water,

chinery, fertilizers and other materials that will be e. This is why the plans worked out by each co-opera- rm—allegedly, on the basis of much calculation—do nform to reality.

ne of our aims in setting up the county co-operative farm gement committees was that of improving planning in agri- ure. Therefore, the management committees must take nning directly in hand and effect a radical improvement in s work.

What is the essential thing in planning? As the experience the recent annual work analysis at the Taean Electrical Ma- hinery Plant shows, it is consulting the masses in drawing up plans. A plan worked out without consulting the masses ex- presses only the subjective views of a few persons and can hardly be called a plan. A good plan, one which conforms to reality, must be drawn up on the basis of consultation with the producers.

When you have worked out a plan after consulting with the masses, you must make it fully known to the producer masses who are to put it into effect. The masses can display creativity and activity in the fulfilment of the plan only when they are acquainted with the target figures, the fighting aims and the methods to be used in carrying it out. One of the most important duties of the county co-operative farm management committees is that of working out accurate plans and giving effective guidance in their fulfilment.

Furthermore, labour administration must be improved. Labour administration is at the moment most unsatisfactory in our country. It is in a very backward state particularly in agriculture.

Above all, the organization of work is inadequate. This is a major reason why the farmers on many co-operative farms have to work long hours. As a matter of fact, if work were or- ganized well, the peasants could do farming properly even though they put in much less time than they do now.

Furthermore, the rural labour force should be urged n to leave agriculture and the farmers should be encouraged

settle in the countryside. Effective political and organizational work should be carried out to maintain our rural labour force.

In addition, we must allocate the labour force properly. Irrational allocation of labour such as assigning younger people to jobs that can be done by the old should be done away with. The young should be assigned jobs which are suitable for them, and the old should be given those jobs which are within their power. At present, able-bodied men are, for the most part, wandering around with brief cases under their arms on the pretext that they are some kind of leader or are doing some highly technical job, and only the women are left with work. Such a state of affairs must be stopped immediately. As far as possible, the women should be given the lighter tasks, and the men, the more arduous ones. If possible, clerical work such as compiling statistics and bookkeeping should be left to the women, and all the men should do outdoor work. Why should the men do the easy work, leaving the arduous chores to the women? All this is a result of poor labour administration.

The allocation of manpower is not co-ordinated among the workteams; there are many examples of teams with a surplus of men refusing to transfer them to shorthanded teams out of regionalism. This must be remedied through proper persuasion.

One of the most important aspects of labour administration is that of correctly fixing work norms. In agriculture, unlike industry, this is a very complicated and difficult task. Therefore, we should fix work norms correctly and assess the quality and quantity of work accurately. This is essential in correctly implementing the socialist principle of distribution and further increasing production by giving a greater stimulus to labour.

Furthermore, guidance and supervision of the financial activities of the co-operative farms should be improved and a strict system of management of the co-operative farm property introduced. Among other things, a proper balance should be maintained between consumption and accumulation on the co-operative farms. Some of the co-operative farms consume too much while setting aside a small sum for the common fund,

whereas others set aside too much for the common fund and fail to pay attention to the lives of the farmers. We should maintain a balance between consumption and accumulation so as to meet the immediate needs of the farmers, yet still set aside an adequate portion of the income for the common fund.

Moreover, technical education for the farmers must be strengthened and technical personnel adequately trained. Everyone should be urged to acquire the techniques needed for the technical revolution in the countryside. The farmers should be made to know the fundamentals of electricity, machinery, hydraulics and biology. They must also be taught about soil, plants, animals and climate. We must pay great attention to the dissemination of science and technology and to the training of technical personnel in the rural areas.

The ideological education of the farmers is a vital aspect of the work of the county Party committees, which should work energetically to raise the level of the farmers' ideological consciousness.

Such are the immediate tasks of the county Party committees and the county co-operative farm management committees.

The economic task next year as already set forth by the Party is to concentrate our efforts on providing sufficient rice to all our people in the coming few years. All efforts must be geared to this struggle. We must see to it that 3,000,000 tons of rice and 200,000 tons of meat are produced annually in the next few years and that the per-capita supply of cooking oil reaches ten grammes a day.

For the fulfilment of these tasks, we must expand the area of rice paddies and increase the per-*chongbo* yield of rice. If we reap one ton of rice more from each *chongbo* of rice paddy, this will be sufficient. We plan to expand the area of the paddies to 600,000 *chongbo* in the future, where we must harvest an average of 4.5 to 5 tons of rice per *chongbo*. Where conditions are more favourable, as many as six tons should be harvested; and where it is impossible, harvests may be smaller. But 4.5 to 5 tons should be the average throughout the country. We must strive to reach this target. Therefore, it is necessary to plough

the rice paddies more than three times, weed them well, sow high-grade seeds and transplant seedlings in good time.

Furthermore, double-cropping should be extensively introduced in dry farming fields. It should be an easy matter to gather four to five tons of grain per *chongbo* on these fields if dry-field rice or millet is sown after barley is reaped.

In livestock breeding, as you have mentioned in your speeches, it is important that every farmer's household has livestock and that the co-operative farms secure good strains of breeding animals. And you must provide the domestic animals with good assorted feed suitable for them.

To ensure the supply of cooking oils and bean curd, we must cultivate oil-bearing plants such as soy beans, wild sesame and hemp on a large scale. Particularly, plenty of soy beans should be planted. In general, it is advisable to base your farming plans on the tasks mentioned above.

In mechanization, it is necessary to follow a policy of supplying trucks to the mountain districts as far as possible and tractors to the flat lands first. Trucks must be supplied first to such provinces as Hamgyong and Kangwon, which have the transport problem. In the mountain areas, where tractor manoeuvrability is limited, mechanization based on animal-drawn machines should be pushed ahead for the time being, while, preferably, tractors and trailer farm machines should first be sent to the flat areas where they can be used more effectively. For the present, we should supply tractors in great numbers to North and South Pyongan and North and South Hwanghae Provinces. In North Pyongan Province, there is no need to send tractors to mountain areas such as Changsong Trucks are preferable in such places.

In conclusion, I would like to touch on the duties of the provincial rural economy committees and the central Agricultural Commission.

Until now, the Ministry of Agriculture has played the role of a management bureau, but is incapable of ensuring our agriculture's perspective development in this way. It is advisable, therefore, for the provincial rural economy committees to as-

sume the leadership of production. These committees should perform the function formerly exercised by the Ministry of Agriculture. A provincial rural economy committee is neither a management bureau nor a ministry. It fulfils the functions of both, we should say. Because there are 13 provinces and cities under direct central control, we have, as it were, 13 ministers of agriculture, instead of just one, to direct our rural economy.

A provincial rural economy committee should assist the county co-operative farm management committees in working out production plans, supervise the fulfilment of the plans in the counties and provide direct leadership in production. It must also supply the counties with farm machines and accessories, fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and other materials. In the future, each provincial rural economy committee should have farm machine plants and farm machine repair shops under its control and see to the farm machine repair work needed in the province.

A provincial rural economy committee must also provide technical guidance in the distribution of crop areas, seed selection, the establishment of a manuring system, the schedule for sowing, the adjustment of manpower.

The provincial rural economy committees should report any knotty production problems they encounter to both the central Agricultural Commission and the Cabinet and draw up plans and submit them to these two bodies.

The most important task of the central Agricultural Commission is to study measures for the development of agricultural techniques in our country.

At present there is no one who assumes responsibility for giving research assignments on farm machines and supervising the research, and the research work is left to take its own course. The Agricultural Commission should set up a research institute, exercise direct control over farm machine research and give it concrete leadership.

The Commission is also responsible for systematically conducting research on seed improvement and seed production, and must organize and direct the study of measures and meth-

ods to improve the soil, of long-range measures for transforming nature, of fertilizers, soils and other important problems. Its duties also include investigating how to develop animal husbandry, including the improvement of breeding stock, and the ways to promote sideline production in the countryside.

Thus, the Agricultural Commission must take charge of organizing and directing research on all problems related to the development of agriculture and see to it that the results of this research are incorporated into production without delay.

The Agricultural Commission must set up laboratories, research institutes, experimental farms, pilot plants and the like in many places and provide all the conditions needed for successful research work.

Moreover, it is also responsible for taking measures for the supply of materials and farm machinery.

It must also draw up the final drafts of plans and supervise the fulfilment of the current plans.

It must also make suggestions to the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet concerning long-range agricultural plans.

The central Agricultural Commission should also direct the large-scale projects aimed at transforming nature—projects having to do with water utilization, the creation of windbreaks, the reclamation of tidelands and the improvement of mountain areas and the planting of trees of economic value

Finally, in reference to the formation of personnel. The Agricultural Commission has the responsibility of training technicians and scientists.

These are the duties which should be carried out by the Agricultural Commission. Each province must take the direct responsibility for the leadership of production, work out plans for the province, assist the counties in drawing up working plans and distribute the allotted materials. The Agricultural Commission need not bother even with the distribution of materials; this should be handled at the provincial level.

It would be a good idea for the Agricultural Commission to consult with the Planning Commission and just make suggestions as to how many tractors and how much fertilizer should

be allotted to each of the various provinces, and for the provincial rural economy committees to do the actual work of receiving and distributing what is allotted to them.

If the Agricultural Commission busied itself with such business and neglected research and the guidance of scientists, we would have no one capable of projecting the long-term perspectives for our agricultural development.

The role of the Agricultural Commission should be strengthened so that we have a clearer idea of the prospects of our agriculture.

The Central Committee of the Party is very pleased with the results summarized in the report on the work of the Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee. The comrades on this committee have done a great deal of work even though they have been subject to some criticism. The members of the county co-operative farm management committee are not the only ones responsible for the failure to complete our plans for mechanization. The provincial and central departments concerned must also take their share of the blame.

Only a year has passed since the county co-operative farm management committees began their work, but they have given ample proof of their advantages. This is due to the great efforts you have made.

South Pyongan Province has also played an important role in reaching the height of 5 million tons of grain this year.

I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, to express thanks to the staff of the Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee, the functionaries of the South Pyongan Provincial Party Committee and the county Party committees in the province, the officials of the provincial rural economy committee and all the county co-operative farm management committees, and all the co-operative farmers.

OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY IS AN ARMY OF THE WORKING CLASS, AN ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION; CLASS AND POLITICAL EDUCATION SHOULD BE CONTINUOUSLY STRENGTHENED

Speech Delivered to People's Army Unit Cadres above the Level of Deputy Regimental Commander for Political Affairs and the Functionaries of the Party and Government Organs of the Locality

February 8, 1963

Our People's Army has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, and it has grown and been tempered in fierce struggle against foreign imperialist aggressors headed by U.S. imperialism. Our People's Army is honourably defending the freedom and independence of the country and the life and property of our people from enemy encroachment and is firmly safeguarding our Party and our revolution. The invincible might of our People's Army stems from the fact that it is a genuine people's army firmly armed with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and composed of the best sons and daughters of the working people led by the working class. To strengthen the People's Army, therefore, it is necessary, first of all, to thoroughly equip all soldiers with the revolutionary spirit of our Party so that it becomes a genuine army of the revolution, of the Party and of the working class. It is important for you to conduct military training and build up defences, but most important

of all is the intensification of political work among the soldiers.

The Central Committee of our Party has long since considered it essential to conduct a good political work in the People's Army, and, with a view to strengthening this work, it set up Party organizations in the army already during the war, and in recent years it has introduced the Party committee system and has taken many other important measures.

A matter of pressing urgency in the political work in the People's Army today is to further intensify the ideological work of heightening the class consciousness of the soldiers.

By fully equipping all the soldiers with class consciousness we must turn our army into a solid class army.

If imperialism were completely overthrown throughout the world and the exploiting classes thoroughly liquidated everywhere, people's class consciousness might not be such an important question. But it will be a long time before that happens.

Today a fierce class struggle is being waged on a world scale between the international working class and the reactionary forces of imperialism, and an acute class struggle is also going on between revolution and counterrevolution here at home. Our People's Army considers it its duty to combat the imperialists, landlords and capitalists and fight for the complete liberation of our nation, in the interests of the working class and other working people. If the class consciousness of our soldiers grows dull and they are ignorant of the landlords and capitalists and of the heinous nature of imperialism, our People's Army will not be able to fight well against the enemy like a revolutionary army.

You should not think it sufficient to simply stand guard on our frontiers, preventing serious incidents; you should arm all the soldiers with the revolutionary ideas of the working class, and see to it that each of them knows the enemy and hates him and is capable of fighting him with a high class consciousness.

1. ON THE NEED TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN CLASS EDUCATION AMONG THE SOLDIERS AND THE WORKING PEOPLE

Our Party has long directed great attention to the strengthening of class education among the Party members and working people, and this work is now going well on the whole. Yet, today we feel keenly the need of further strengthening this work.

Communists are all well aware of the necessity of class education of the working people.

And yet we must reemphasize this question because the reality of our country and the general international situation urgently require it.

Today our country is divided into north and south, and our people stand face to face with the U.S. imperialists. The socialist revolution has triumphed only in the northern half, while south Korea, one half of the territory of our country, is still under the occupation of the U.S. imperialists. There, the landlords and capitalists are harshly exploiting the workers and peasants, and foreign aggressors are brutally killing and insulting our compatriots.

Our Party and people should, first of all, drive the aggressive forces of foreign imperialism out of our territory, complete the national-liberation revolution, and then accomplish the socialist revolution throughout the country. This is a very difficult revolutionary task.

The enemy we are confronted with is U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction. U.S. imperialism is not only the object of the struggle of our people, but also the object of the common struggle of working class and peace-loving people of the whole world. Accordingly, the question of chasing the U.S. imperialists out of south Korea is closely linked with the

common struggle of the world's people against the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression. That is why our revolution against U.S. imperialism assumes a protracted and arduous character.

The more arduous and protracted becomes the character of the revolution, the more fully all the Party members, working people and, particularly, the men and officers of the People's Army whose duty it is to defend our country, need to be equipped with the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

And today there are conditions which might make us liable to forget the enemy of the revolution and become indolent.

In our country those who had fought against Japanese imperialism and experienced exploitation and oppression at the hands of the landlords and capitalists in the past are now getting old, while a new generation—who neither know imperialism, landlords and capitalists nor have undergone any hardships—are growing up and emerging as masters of our society.

In former days, we were subjected to all sorts of oppression and contempt by the Japanese imperialists and suffered harsh exploitation at the hands of the landlords and capitalists. So we felt a strong hatred for the enemies of our nation and class, and we did not spare our lives in the battle against them.

For the people who had suffered oppression and lived in poverty before, our life today is, indeed, boundlessly happy and worthwhile. Among the division or regimental commanders present here, there must be people who once served as farm hands for others or toiled under the lash of the capitalists. These comrades know well how miserable their past life was. They could not even think of going to school and were subjected to indescribable maltreatment by the landlords and capitalists. This is why they have always possessed the resolute will to dedicate their lives to defending the Party which has brought them the happiness they enjoy today and to fight devotedly to safeguard the gains of our revolution from enemy attack.

A few days ago, I saw a film based on a story about Height 1211. There is a dramatic scene in which Comrade Li Chol Jun, son of a former hired hand, who suffered every manner of ill-

treatment at the house of a landlord in the past, shoots dov the landlord's son who fled to the south to become a pupp army officer. The Fatherland Liberation War was an extreme fierce struggle because it was a national-liberation war again foreign aggressors and, at the same time, it was such a dee going class struggle.

But nearly ten years have already passed since the cess tion of hostilities against the Yankees, and our living conditio have radically changed as compared with the past. We knock down the landlords and capitalists long ago and have bu a socialist system free from exploitation and oppression in t northern half. In the southern half, there are the U.S. impe alists as well as the landlords and capitalists, whereas in o northern half there are neither imperialists who humiliate a oppress our nation nor landlords and capitalists who expl the working people. An end has been put to centuries of bac wardness and penury in our country and our working peop all enjoy a happy, new socialist life.

It is under this fine socialist system that the new gener tion are growing up, never having gone through the hard life the past.

There are an increasing number of young people who d not even suffer the brutal outrages of the American scou drels during the war, to say nothing of the oppression by t Japanese imperialists, and they are already finding their w both into the factories and the People's Army. In fact, we ca not say that the young people of 17 to 18 years of age at prese really experienced our people's Fatherland Liberation War gainst the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Our younger generation do not know very well wh landlords are like, what capitalists are like and how maliciou the imperialists are. For this reason, many questions which su prised us greatly are said to have been raised at the politic classes presently given by platoon leaders. I was told that son young soldiers are ignorant of words such as "straw sandals "farm rent" and "hired hand" and the platoon leaders have explain these things to them. I wonder if these young peop

who are ignorant of straw sandals, of landlords, capitalists, exploitation and oppression, can fully understand the villainous nature of imperialism, landlords and capitalists when they are told about it.

Further, as our living conditions are improving, there appears among some youth a tendency of disdaining struggle. They say they do not like war films because they are boring. They simply desire to have a good time, seeking only pleasure while avoiding all difficulties. Bravery and perseverance can be cultivated only through a vigorous struggle to overcome difficulties. However, they are not waging such a struggle; they just vegetate, so that the spirit of fortitude is sagging and a loose and indolent atmosphere is gradually pervading the youth.

You comrades gathered here say that you are indebted to the Party for your schooling because it was not before our liberation but only afterwards that you could go to school. However, the new generation take it for granted the ease with which they can study and are not even satisfied with having graduated from college.

When attending school before we found ourselves in a difficult situation, indeed. There were few schools and it was very hard to enter even a middle school, to say nothing of college. At that time we had no money to buy books, and as for Marxist literature, it was very difficult to even find it. So in order to study, we borrowed books from libraries. And once a book came into our hands we read it deep into the night because we might be fined in case we failed to return it by the fixed date. When we were fortunate enough to get a Marxist book, we read it in secret forgetting everything else.

But today, you can obtain as many Marxist-Leninist publications as you want at the bookshops and, moreover, they are very cheap. But young people today do not read much even though they have available heaps of good books. It seems that they want to study easily with as little effort as possible.

If we do not educate the younger generation and just leave them alone, they will become so addicted to a soft life that they will wish only to live in tranquility and will lose the

staunch combative will to make revolution in the teeth of dif-ficulties.

If the people in our country, who are in frontal confronta-tion with the U.S. imperialists, were to forget the enemy of ou class and nation and live in indolence, it would be a very dan-gerous thing, tantamount to disarming themselves completel before the enemy.

The U.S. imperialists are not likely to get out of sout Korea soon. Nevertheless, the Yankees will not be able to hol on to the south over a long period. Japanese imperialism wa destroyed after 36 years of occupation of Korea, but thing are different now from what they used to be in those days. Th American scoundrels have already been occupying south Ko-rea for 17 years. Now we can say that the day is drawing neare when they will be driven out. Though it is hard to foretell th future definitely, we can say that the Yankees will probabl go to ruin in Korea in 10 to 20 years or so If we do not figh well, it may take 20-odd years or more.

Of course, 10 or 20 years is not a short period. Many thing will change within that space of time.

Indeed, there is not a shadow of doubt that, in 10 to 2 years, almost all those who in the past had suffered from crue exploitation by the landlord and capitalist classes and from na-tional oppression by the imperialists will have grown old whil the new generation that did not experience exploitation an oppression will have become the masters of our state and so-ciety.

Our revolution is not over and we still have much work t do. If we fail to accomplish the revolutionary cause in our gen-eration, we must leave it for the next generation to consum-mate. And if the younger generation forget the enemy, becom shy of struggle and only like to lead a life of ease, they may no only be unable to carry forward our revolutionary cause bu also could even be deprived of the achievements we have made

Further, you must not think that those who are of worke and peasant origin or went through hardships before, are al fully armed with class consciousness. If they lead a comfortabl

life for a long time in the absence of any education, even people who are of sound class origin and have gone through hardships may become oblivious of their former plight in which they were oppressed and humiliated, gradually become lazy and their class consciousness may be paralysed.

Therefore, in order to drive the U.S. imperialists out of our territory, realize the reunification of our country and carry the Korean revolution through to the end, it is necessary for us to further intensify class education among the working people. We must never feel complacent just because the socialist system has already triumphed, the hostile classes have been liquidated and our living conditions have improved in the northern half of the Republic. We must continue to be deeply concerned with heightening the class consciousness of the working people, and especially, with firmly arming the young generation with working-class ideology.

Class education of the working people and particularly of the new generation is not a problem faced by the Korean Communists alone. It is a matter of concern common to the Communists of the world. In the countries where the revolution triumphed in only a part of their territory and not on a nationwide scale, and in the socialist countries where the revolution emerged victorious at an earlier period—under conditions in which the world revolution has not been accomplished and imperialism remains in existence—class education becomes a matter of great importance now for the international communist movement.

Today world imperialism is slipping towards decline and ruin. But imperialism still remains a dangerous force and machinates evilly against peace, socialism and national independence everywhere in the world. We should not simply believe that imperialism will be totally overthrown in a matter of a few years. To rout imperialism once and for all and accomplish the world revolution, the people of the world must still wage an arduous struggle over a long period of time.

The longer the world revolution lasts, the more important becomes the question of the class education of the working peo-

ple in the socialist countries where the revolution triumphed earlier.

It is already 40-odd years since the socialist revolution emerged victorious in the Soviet Union and nearly 20 years since the triumph of the revolution in other socialist countries. Therefore, it can be said that the replacement of the old generation by the new is a common phenomenon taking place in all the socialist countries. Besides, in most of the socialist countries, construction has continued in a peaceful atmosphere ever since World War II, and the material and cultural life of their peoples has markedly improved. This entails the danger that a peaceful, comfortable life may make the people forget the revolutionary spirit they had in the past when they were fighting harsh battles.

Under such circumstances, if class education is discontinued among the working people, on the grounds that the socialist revolution has triumphed on a nation-wide scale, people will gradually slide into laziness and degenerate ideologically. They will end by losing their hatred for imperialism as well as their will to carry the revolution through to the end, and worse still, they will seek only their own welfare, not caring whether others are oppressed and exploited. This would mean that the peoples in triumphant socialist countries would give up the struggle for revolution and renounce the world revolution To seek only the prosperity of one's own country without regard for the world revolution is a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism and is fundamentally contradictory to Marxism-Leninism.

To desist from the revolutionary struggle and renounce the world revolution means to betray Marxism-Leninism and degenerate into revisionism. Then one could not build socialism and communism even in one's own country.

In some socialist countries, a dissipated and indolent way of life is now in evidence among the youth due to the neglect of ideological work with the working people. There has appeared among them bad tendencies: unwillingness to work or join the army and aspirations for only an idle and licentious

life. This lazy, dissipated and non-class way of life provides favourable soil for the growth of revisionist ideology, and under the influence of revisionism, people are degenerating all the more.

Consequently, many young people, with their class consciousness paralysed, fail to see things from a revolutionary point of view. They know little of the aggressive and brutish nature of imperialism, and are dubious about the anti-imperialist struggle, harbouring illusions about imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism.

Such ideological degeneration of the youth in some socialist countries constitutes a great danger both to building socialism and communism in their countries and to waging the revolutionary struggle against imperialism on a world-wide scale.

It is incumbent upon Communists throughout the world to be boundlessly loyal to the revolution of their own countries and fight, at the same time, for the final victory of the world revolution. In all socialist countries the work of class education should be energetically conducted in order to carry their country's revolution and the world revolution through to the end. Strengthening class education among the working people, it can be said, is an important task assigned to all Communists of our era by the cause of the world revolution.

We are duty bound to crush the imperialists and their lackeys, the landlords and capitalists, in Korea, accomplish the socialist revolution throughout the country and fight, as a detachment of the international communist movement, for the ultimate triumph of the world revolution. A protracted struggle is required both for the triumph of the Korean revolution and for the triumph of the world revolution. That is why we must consistently carry on the work of class education among the working people until our revolution is crowned with final victory.

Further, the strengthening of class education among the working people has come to the fore as a still more vital necessity in connection with the emergence of revisionist ideology in the present period.

At present, revisionists are spreading all sorts of anti-Marxist, opportunist theories and widely [illegible] ary bourgeois ideologies and the corrupt [illegible] thereby paralysing the class and revolutionary [illegible] the working people and, especially, [illegible] eration ideologically.

The modern revisionists betray the [illegible] of Marxism-Leninism and deny the [illegible] struggle and class struggle. [illegible] equal; the whole world is a unity," [illegible] the class outlook and preach the [illegible] kind," "universal outlook."

In the field of art, too, they draw no [illegible] the revolutionary art of the working [illegible] art of the bourgeoisie, and advocate the [illegible] kind." The revisionists consider [illegible] to learn the corrupt capitalist way [illegible] revolutionary working class ought to [illegible] dances which the capitalists enjoy [illegible] ing licentious pleasures. They [illegible] of art is absolutely unnecessary.

Where revisionism has found [illegible] more bereft of the love for and [illegible] and are being reduced to egoists [illegible] for themselves. This means a [illegible] of mammonism. What sort of [illegible] and revolution can be expected [illegible] money and pursues only personal [illegible] this path, he will not even [illegible] case resulting from this was [illegible] tain country who was so [illegible] that she thought it an honour [illegible] agent.

One of our students [illegible] visionism while studying in a [illegible] ly tempted into a degenerate [illegible] arrived at a point where he [illegible]

rean. This is of course a peculiar case. But at any rate, once people are affected and demoralized by revisionism, they will end up by rejecting their country and seeking only their own pleasure.

The revisionists are the agents of the imperialists. At present the imperialists are using the revisionists as their stooges in their manoeuvres to spread counterrevolutionary, non-class ideologies within our ranks and soften up our camp. Therefore, in order to prevent the penetration of revisionism, further cement the ideological unity of our revolutionary ranks and carry on a successful struggle against imperialism and the landlord and capitalist classes, it is required more urgently than ever before to intensify class education.

2. ON THE MAIN CONTENTS OF CLASS EDUCATION

Class education is a work of ideological education aimed at arming people with the working-class ideology. Its main object is to enhance the class awakening of the working people so that they may combat the class enemy uncompromisingly and fight to resolutely defend the interests of their class through thick and thin.

We should thoroughly expose to the working people the malignant and insidious nature of the class enemy, cultivate in them a strong hatred for that enemy and, at the same time, convince them deeply of their class position and the justness of the revolutionary struggle, thereby inducing all working people to resolutely fight the class enemy to the end, for the good of their class, their Party and their socialist country and for the victory of the revolutionary cause.

The question on which we should lay primary stress in class education is that of cultivating among the working people a hatred for imperialism.

Imperialism is the first target of our struggle. Imperialism is all bad, and particularly, the imperialism we have to fight is U.S. and Japanese imperialism. We must, above all, educate the soldiers and working people with the idea of hating U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

There are countless instances of barbarities committed by the American and Japanese scoundrels in Korea. We should tell the soldiers and the working people clearly how the U S. imperialists and the Japanese imperialists killed, insulted and oppressed our people. We should let them know about all the atrocities that the American scoundrels perpetrated while in north Korea and are perpetrating now in south Korea. In south Korea today, when the Yankees go hunting, they shoot down Koreans who are gathering firewood and claim that they thought they were pheasants or hares; they shoot children to death, branding the victims as thieves merely for approaching the barbed wire fences; they rape Korean women and even shave off their hair; they strip Korean women naked and paint their bodies, and so on. All these represent an intolerable insult to our nation. We should inform the working people of all these facts. In this way they should be inspired with hatred against the enemy of our nation.

The Kwangju Students' Incident, touched off when Japanese male students jeered at a Korean schoolgirl, led the Korean students throughout the country to rise against Japanese imperialism. We should fully expose the outrages the U.S. imperialists are now perpetrating in south Korea and make them all known to our people.

What is most important in educating the soldiers and the working people to hate imperialism is to bring home to them its aggressive nature. We should not just tell the working people about a few cases of the imperialists slaughtering people in our country or savagely bombing our towns and villages; we should make the working people fully understand, on the basis of historical facts, that aggression and plunder emanate from the very nature of imperialism.

In the past, the imperialists gobbled up our country, and

it of vast amounts of resources and wealth; and also hey have got hold of south Korea and are plundering th Korean people, and even trying to swallow north Korea. l imperialism, without exception, is aggressive in nature, Japanese imperialism or U.S. imperialism, the imperialism esterday or the imperialism of today.

Just as the brutish nature of a wolf cannot change, so the ressive nature of imperialism can never change. Catch a lf cub and raise it; the beast will still do harm to people and e into the mountains when it grows up. If the aggressive ature of imperialism changed, it would mean that imperialism as already ceased to exist. So long as imperialism remains, ts aggressive nature will remain the same. We should categorically reject the allegation of the revisionists that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed.

From the first days of their contact with our country, the Japanese and U.S. imperialists tried to swallow our country and schemed to plunder our people of their wealth. The American rogues robbed our country of great quantities of gold. The gold they took away from the Unsan, Taeyudong and Suan Mines alone amounts to a tremendous figure. In many places there still remain traces of those Yankees who bustled about the high mountains and deep valleys to rob Korea of its gold. I found a Western-style house on the mountain pass of Changsong, and asked the old men what it was. They said that it was built by an American scoundrel who lived there for a year, during which time he made trips on horseback in search of gold. I suggested that it would be a good idea to maintain the house in good state so that we can show it to our future generations.

The crafty Yankees plundered Korea of a huge amount of gold of which they spent a negligible sum to set up a few "charity hospitals" and the like, and distribute some bags of quinine to Christian converts. Besides, in order to train the spies they needed, they picked out some Koreans and sent them t study in the United States. In doing so, they advertized th they were benefactors and were helping Koreans.

Today also, the American rogues are trying to deceive people by similar methods in south Korea. They have occupied south Korea and turned it into their colony. And yet, they allege that they are giving aid to the Korean people. We should fully expose the true nature of the several hundred million dollars of "aid" which they are said to give annually.

In actual fact what is plundered by the Yankees in south Korea every year is incomparably greater than what they offer in the so-called aid. In the first place, the Yankees maintain as mercenaries a puppet army of 700,000. If they were to station that size army of their own in Korea, it would cost them scores of times more than the amount of their "aid" to south Korea. The American scoundrels, however, feign ignorance of the fact that they use the young and middle-aged in south Korea as cannon fodder and plunder a vast amount of resources there. On the contrary, they vociferate as if they were feeding the south Korean people. In south Korea, too, many people seem to have started realizing by now that so-called U S aid is a means of ruining the south Korean economy and completely reducing it to an appendage of the United States.

We must also get the people fully acquainted with the fact that the Japanese and U.S. imperialists have long since collaborated with each other for the purpose of invading Korea. We should thus expose, based on a historical fact, the ambitions of the U.S. and the Japanese imperialists to commit renewed aggression against our country

Of late, the U.S. imperialists and the military fascist clique in the south are even manoeuvring to give entree to the Japanese imperialists in an endeavour to prop up their colonial rule in south Korea which is on the verge of collapse.

Men like Pak Jung Hi and Kim Jong Pil in south Korea are special agents of the United States and also stooges of the Japanese scoundrels. They are now holding the "ROK-Japan talks" with a view to ushering in the Japanese bandits. These traitors intend to reduce to only 300 million dollars the reparations to be given for the plunder committed by the Japanese imperialists against our people for 36 years.

Government has made clear its determined opposition "ROK-Japan talks." A broad sector of the Japanese public as well as the working class are raising their voices to denounce the illegality of the "ROK-Japan talks."

We must firmly oppose the Pak Jung Hi clique bringing Japanese imperialism, and sharpen the vigilance against the Japanese imperialists who are machinating to invade our Korea again.

Racial discrimination and misanthropy are ideas inherent to the imperialists. We remember clearly how the Japanese scoundrels looked down upon Koreans and brutally slaughtered them in the past. The rabid racial discrimination of the Yankees is widely known to the world. They regard the whites as a superior race, and believe that the yellow and the black races ought to be dominated and maltreated by the whites. We should thoroughly reveal the history of atrocities committed by the American scoundrels in insulting and murdering Koreans and the criminal acts they have committed and are still committing against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this way, we should see to it that all our people profoundly hate Japanese and U.S. imperialism and that not only our generation but also our future generations remember the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Besides, we should make the soldiers and working people fully acquainted with the evil nature of the landlords and capitalists. Today landlords and capitalists still remain in south Korea, and they continue to exploit the workers and peasants ruthlessly. In north Korea the landlord and capitalist system had ceased to exist but the former landlords and capitalists, though overthrown, are still alive today.

The younger generation have no idea of landlords, but the former landlords have never forgotten their confiscated land. Although 17 years have already elapsed since the landlords' estates were confiscated they still keep the property records. They say that one of them, helped about by his grandson points out to the young grandson all the lands he had been deprived of and tells him that he must regain the lands by

means when the time comes, even after his death In Pyongyang, of late, a 72 year-old erstwhile landlord, who had kept murmuring and complaining, turned against us despite the fact that all of his sons had gone to school and had even graduated from college thanks to the solicitude of the state. The members of his people's neighbourhood unit made every effort to educate him but it was all in vain, and finally, it is said, they had no other choice but to expel him from the unit, entrusting his reeducation to his sons. I think this is an instructive instance which shows that the true nature of the landlords does not change. Just as the true nature of imperialism is actually unchangeable, so is the true nature of the landlords and capitalists.

The landlords have not forgotten that we expropriated their lands, and so how can we forget the landlords? We should continue to hate landlords and capitalists and fight them to the end. It is necessary for us to produce many films and dramas exposing the criminal acts of exploitation and pillage by the landlords and capitalists, and also write more novels based on similar subjects. Our youngsters should be made to see and read all these films and novels so that they can fully understand how their parents were exploited and oppressed by the landlords and capitalists in the past.

And it would be good for the army to occasionally invite and hold round-table discussions with some of the old country folks who in the past eked out a scanty living as farm hands and became better off after the liberation. Through such round-table discussions we should make our soldiers fully aware of how miserable the plight of our peasants was and how cruel the exploitation by the Japanese scoundrels and the landlords was in former days.

Another very important thing in class education is to bring home to the soldiers and working people the corruptness of the capitalist system and the superiority of the socialist system.

Exploiting classes like landlords and capitalists are inseparable from their exploiting system. We should hate not only individual landlords and capitalists but the exploiting classes

as a whole, and should fight against the exploiting system itself in which they rule the roost.

To have a full grasp of the class essence of the capitalists, one must be well informed about the capitalist system. We should help the working people to fully understand that the capitalist system and the landlord and bourgeois way of life are bad, whereas the socialist system and our people's mode of life are good.

Capitalist society is a society where a handful of the privileged classes, including the landlords and capitalists, oppress and exploit the toiling masses. State power and the wealth of society are exclusively in the hands of these privileged classes. The toiling masses are starved and ragged. If they fall ill, they cannot afford medical treatment. They have no power whatsoever to defend their human rights although humiliated and oppressed.

On the contrary, under the socialist system the popular masses are the masters of everything. In socialist society, no one is subjected to exploitation and oppression. Everyone works and lives equally well, people study and develop together. Although they may not be in a position to live in luxury like the landlords and capitalists, they all live free from worry about food and clothing, are entitled to work and study, and receive medical care. Moreover, under the socialist system, all the people are united and work with consciousness, so that they develop the society rapidly and show great vigour in the struggle against foreign aggressors.

In making the superiority of our system understood, it is very effective to compare the northern half with the southern half.

A contrast between the superiority of the socialist system and the corrupt, reactionary nature of the capitalist system is manifested most strikingly in the diametrically opposed situations in north and south Korea. Our struggle today is, in fact, an acute struggle between the two entirely opposite social systems, established in north and south Korea, a struggle between the classes that support the socialist system and the classes that

support the capitalist system. We are striving to get people to choose for themselves between the two systems. It is therefore very important to prove the advantages of socialism over capitalism fully, by making comparisons between the social systems in north and south Korea.

In south Korea, the landlords and capitalists continue to exercise their authority and live in affluence, while the workers and peasants lead a wretched life. Since power is not in the hands of the workers and peasants, far from being protected by the state, they are simply oppressed. The police beat, arrest and imprison workers and peasants, and subject large numbers of toiling people and youths to forced labour and pressgang them into the puppet army as cannon fodder for the Yankees. There are over 6 million unemployed and semi-unemployed, and hundreds of thousands of child beggars are roaming the streets, but the rulers do nothing whatsoever for them. They arrest, imprison and slaughter at random those who advocate the rights of the people, and herd people off to desolate far-off lands in South America across the Pacific. We should thoroughly expose the criminal emigration scheme of the south Korean rulers who banish innocent south Korean people to faraway places so that they may never return, under the pretext that poverty is caused by a shortage of land, while they lay waste hundreds of thousands of *chongbo* of cultivable land.

North Korea is inhabited by the Koreans just as in the south, but the situation is entirely different here. All landlords and capitalists have been eliminated in the northern half and the exploiters and oppressors have all been liquidated. The state is run by the people themselves; all of the factories and farms are owned by the people who manage and operate them for themselves. Everyone works, studies and lives free from worry about food, clothing and housing.

In south Korea countless people go about begging with cans in their hands, many dying under bridges from cold and hunger. We, however, now all eat hearty meals though they be boiled rice and corn, half-and-half, and there is no one lacking shelter and sleeping under bridges.

outh Korea today, a large number of youth and children go to school and students even sell their blood to earn expenses. But in the northern half, all pupils and stu- accounting for one-fourth of the population, study at ls free of charge; and everyone is even provided with tions for receiving higher education.

As everyone has an occupation and works in our society, enemies are carrying on a malicious propaganda campaign t north Koreans are subjected to forced labour. Contrary to eir expectations, this sort of propaganda will backfire so that, fact, the Koreans in the south will long for north Korea.

An espionage agent, who had infiltrated into north Korea and fled to the south, slanderously claimed that the streets in the north were like a living hell in the daytime with not a soul to be seen because everyone had been dragged off for forced labour. Such a crude lie can deceive no one, nor can it evoke the sympathy of the south Korean people. If the south Korean working people, who are jobless and languishing in hunger and poverty, hear this, they would say they prefer to get any job even if it did mean forced labour. What pride can one have in streets filled, even in the daytime, with parasites who live with- out working and with the unemployed and beggars wandering about with no job and nothing to eat? And what good is it to have many yelling hawkers urging people to buy some prod- uct? Only madmen could be against eliminating such things and having everyone working and living well.

A few years ago, an airliner flew over here from south Korea. A stewardess from the plane gave her impressions of the streets of Pyongyang, saying that the cosmetics and other luxuries in the shops were not worth mentioning and that there was only plenty of ordinary fabrics suitable for plain people and of mass consumption goods. These remarks, too, can be construed differently from opposite class positions. When they hear the words, the landlords and capitalists may consider tha north Korea is a poor society since it lacks toilet articles an luxuries. As for the working people in south Korea, they ma ... life in north Korea ideal for working people and sa

"It doesn't matter if we have no cosmetics and luxuries. So long as there are plenty of the goods that the working people need, that's enough."

The bourgeoisie like to talk about freedom. Their freedom, however, is the freedom for the landlords and capitalists to exploit the working people and the freedom for the workers and peasants to be badly-clothed and hunger-stricken.

I was told that some of the south Korean reporters who come to Panmunjom extol bourgeois freedom. When our correspondents asked them what freedom they had after all, a south Korean counterpart reportedly answered: "You all go to office at eight in the morning and work, but we don't do that. Once we write a good story and make money, we drink or take a rest at home for days. And no one is bothered about it. What is this if not freedom?" This fellow, however, shuts his eyes to the fact that in south Korea now great numbers of people, unable to earn a living, are going hungry, far from loafing for two days on one day's earning. He does not care whether others are starved or frozen to death, whether the country goes to ruin or not; he only wants to make a good living for himself. What a mean idea! It is most disgraceful to idle away time at home, drinking wine, instead of concerning oneself with the community, the state and the sufferings of one's fellow countrymen.

The freedom to eat the bread of idleness as long as one has money in one's pocket is a freedom for the rich bourgeois exploiter class, not for the working people Genuine freedom for the working people lies, above all, in extricating themselves from exploitation and oppression by the landlords and capitalists and in all being able to work, not for the good of the exploiters but for their own sake and for the sake of their country and society.

The capitalists talk about human rights, but in capitalist society the working people actually have no right to work, no right to live, no right to receive medical care, no right to study. Only socialist society ensures genuine freedom and rights for all the working people to work and live happily together.

A brief glance over one aspect of capitalist society may fascinate some with the pomp of bourgeois life. The streets blazing with varicoloured lights and shops stacked with luxurious and flashy goods may give an impression that everything is prospering and thriving. In contrast, our shops, which fulfil their function as supply organs for the working people, are not concentrated in any one place but are distributed evenly in each district, and their goods are all ordinary ones. People fresh from capitalist countries may think that our towns are much less splendrous than capitalist ones. But everything that is sumptuous and brilliant in capitalist society is designed for the rich capitalists, not for the poor workers. People who fail to observe things from the class point of view may see only the gorgeous side of capitalist society, which has nothing to do with the working people, and be fascinated by it.

We should always draw comparisons between capitalism and socialism from the class point of view, and thoroughly convince the soldiers and working people of the superiority of the socialist system. Only then will they love their system, make devoted efforts to further strengthen and develop it, defend their socialist system and socialist homeland from enemy invasion and fight on with firm confidence in the justness and victory of the cause of socialism.

In the army, too, when political lessons are given, it is advisable to dwell on the south Korean situation a great deal, not just stressing the socialist construction in the northern half. You should give the soldiers a good analytical explanation as to how the landlords levy farm rent in south Korea; why south Korea, once called the granary of Korea, has bad harvests all the time and millions of foodless peasants subsist on grass roots and tree bark year after year, whereas mountainous north Korea gathers good crops every year and has sufficient provisions; why in south Korea the number of unemployed is constantly on the increase and even college graduates cannot get employment and in the end find themselves in the miserable situation of the jobless *chige* carrier, while the northern half is concerned about its manpower shortage; and so on.

We must also make the soldiers understand clearly that the fundamental cause of the miseries and sufferings of the south Korean people lies in the colonial, predatory policy of U.S. imperialism and its reactionary ruling system.

In the pre-liberation days when we were struggling against the Japanese imperialists we taught the guerrillas in detail how the Japanese scoundrels were bleeding the Koreans white and how the landlords were exploiting the peasants. We explained to them how much the landlords collected in farm rent, how the Japanese bandits deprived the Koreans of their lands, how they levied taxes, and even what the monopoly system was.

The soldiers should be thoroughly acquainted with the situation in south Korea as well as in north Korea. Only then will it be possible for them to have a deeper understanding of the superiority of the socialist system and greater determination to safeguard the revolutionary gains. And only in this way will our soldiers come to hate the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the landlords and capitalists, and increase their revolutionary enthusiasm to overthrow the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the landlords and capitalists in south Korea at an early date and to make our south Korean compatriots as well-off as we are.

Class education of the working people is a deep-going class struggle in the realm of ideology. Without waging an uncompromising battle against the ideology of the hostile classes, it is impossible to equip the soldiers and working people with the working-class ideology, the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, we must wage a powerful struggle against all types of reactionary bourgeois ideas, anti-Marxist-Leninist ideas and opportunist ideas. At the present time particularly, when revisionism has raised its head internationally, it is of great significance in class education to expose the reactionary nature of revisionism.

The modern revisionists, with a view to paralysing the class consciousness of the masses, deny the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship, preach class collaboration and

bourgeois liberalism and obscure the fundamental difference between the capitalist system and the socialist system.

While beautifying imperialism and alleging that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed, they call for a halt to the anti-imperialist struggle and oppose the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and exploited peoples.

On the question of war and peace, too, the modern revisionists have put forward a pernicious "theory." Peace can be won only through the struggle of the broad popular masses against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. However, the revisionists pin their hopes on the "reasonableness" of the imperialists and beg them for peace while repressing the anti-imperialist struggle of the popular masses. They are compromising with imperialism and capitulating to the imperialists' policy of war blackmail, while spreading warphobia and bourgeois pacifism.

Revisionism is bourgeois ideology which has penetrated the working-class movement. The revisionists, renegades of the revolution, craftily using Marxist-Leninist propositions in camouflaging their reactionary nature, actually preach bourgeois ideology and serve the interests of the imperialists and the reactionary classes.

Modern revisionism is exerting an extremely harmful influence upon the struggle of the popular masses for peace, national independence and socialism. Where revisionism finds its way, the class consciousness of the masses grows blunt and they degenerate ideologically, thereby becoming unable to carry on the revolutionary struggle.

So, at present we cannot successfully give the working people a class education or mobilize them for the victory of the revolution apart from the struggle against revisionism. We should fully lay bare the non-class and reactionary nature of the revisionists so that all the working people can draw a distinction for themselves between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. We should thus see to it that all our Party members and working people, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the

banner of struggle against imperialism and for national liberation and socialism, fight out resolutely for the triumph of the revolutionary cause.

Another important thing in class education is to firmly arm the soldiers and working people with the ideas of socialist patriotism.

We must learn not only to hate the enemy but also to love our friends. Love of one's own class and people and the ardent love of one's own Party and country is one of the loftiest characteristics inherent to the working class.

Nothing is dearer to us than our country. Our people have felt in their bones how miserable is the colonial slavery of a stateless nation.

The true mother of all people is their native country. We cannot live nor be happy, apart from our country. Only by virtue of the prosperity and well-being of the homeland is it possible for us to carve out the road to happiness. All the finest sons and daughters of our people were ardent patriots before anything else. It was also for the restoration of our country that the Korean Communists fought against the Japanese imperialists before liberation, braving hardships and tribulations.

Li Su Bok, a hero who displayed matchless valour in the Fatherland Liberation War of our people against the armed invasion of the U.S. imperialists, said that he had to devote his life to the interests of his own country. This is the feeling of real patriots All our soldiers and working people should possess this patriotic spirit Patriotism is all the more indispensable for us who have to drive out the U S imperialist aggressors and accomplish the national-liberation revolution.

However, as our people had long lived in colonial slavery without their own state, quite a few of them are not proud of their country and nation and, accordingly, they lack in love of their people and fatherland. So, in many cases, some people become transformed into Japanese when they are in Japan, into Russians in Russia and into Americans in America.

True, our people retain much of the flunkeyism which has been handed down historically and lack a sense of national

However, our big defect is that we have so far failed e the working people a thoroughgoing education in patriot- As a result, some even seem to think the working class s not have to be patriotic while others think socialist pat- tism and proletarian internationalism conflict with each her.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism con- titute an inseparable whole. Some people betray their country under the signboard of internationalism, which is very wrong.

Fundamentally speaking, proletarian internationalism is internationalism between independent nations, between states, and internationalism is inconceivable apart from nations and states. If one holds that he needs neither state nor nation, but needs only internationalism, this is not an internationalist stand but that of a ruined people who have forgotten their own coun- try and nation and depend on others.

Needless to say, it will be another matter after imperial- ism is completely overthrown and socialism and communism emerge victorious on a world-wide scale in the future, and the boundaries of nations vanish and states cease to exist. Then the question of patriotism will never arise and its relationship to internationalism will pose no problem.

However, while frontiers continue to exist and people have their respective countries and live on a national basis like to- day, one cannot forget his country and nation.

It would be meaningless for the Korean Communists to talk about revolution apart from the Korean nation and the 3,000 *ri* of Korean soil.

Those who were born in Korea are duty bound to make rev- olution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The Ko rean revolution is the internationalist duty devolving on th Korean people. For this reason, only when the Korean peo satisfactorily carry out the Korean revolution first, will th be performing their internationalist duty faithfully. Everyth we have must be subordinated to the fulfilment of the Ko revolution. Moreover, inasmuch as we are still at the sta revolution in which we must accomplish the national-libe

revolution throughout the country, it is essential to enhance the national pride of our people.

The question to which we should pay particular attention in educating the working people in patriotism is that of making them fully understand the great importance of national independence. The Party is demanding that *Juche* be established in all domains, and special emphasis should be laid on political independence and economic self-sustenance.

Originally, Communists make it their rudimentary task to fight for the liquidation of all kinds of subjugation and for the attainment of sovereignty and independence. He who denies political independence and preaches flunkeyism is not a Communist.

The man who lacks political independence will practise revisionism if others do it, accept dogmatism if others fall into it, or capitulationism, if others do so. How can he become a Communist who responsibly leads the revolution of his country if he keeps swaying with the wind.

A person who follows in wake of others without political independence is out of his senses. Such a stupid man can neither love his country and people, nor do anything in a creative way to suit his own actual situation. The man who thus lacks the spirit of sovereignty and independence works not for the good of his people but to curry favour with others. Therefore, this sort of man may eventually play into the hands of the great-power chauvinists who try to subjugate other countries, and he may go so far as to degenerate into a traitor who sells out the interests of his own people.

Without economic self-sustenance, no political independence can be ensured. A state can be fully sovereign and independent only when it has political independence and economic self-sustenance. Above all, it is of prime importance for us Korean Communists to turn our country into a state which has complete political independence and economic self-sustenance. Only political independence and economic self-sustenance will enable us to solve our country's problems on our own.

It should be a fundamental principle that the problems of

a country should be solved by its own people. It would be a very stupid and erroneous idea to win independence by relying on others and to live well on the favours of others. The Korean revolution must be accomplished by the efforts of the Korean people themselves and the Korean question must be solved by the Korean people themselves.

We must show the people in the southern half that political independence and economic self-sustenance have been firmly established in the northern half, and must continue to inspire them to take the path of political independence and economic self-sustenance, without relying on the United States or Japan. Some of the south Korean people still maintain that the reunification of the country should be materialized by the United Nations. We are fundamentally opposed to this. Why should we ask for the help of the United Nations to solve the question of Korean reunification instead of settling it among us Koreans? To do so means disbelief in our own strength and an insult to our nation. There remain quite a few people who are not ashamed of relying on external forces because flunkeyism has had a potent influence in our country from the past.

In the last days of the feudal society of the Li dynasty the situation of our country was particularly appalling. People were not concerned with saving the country by their own efforts; on the contrary, different factions did their utmost to get the assistance of foreign powers in order to achieve their partisan ends whenever something happened. So, some secured the backing of Russia, others the backing of Japan and still others the backing of Chin—each group got the backing of a foreign power. This vice found expression even after the August 15 Liberation. The factionalists played the same old game in 1956. All the anti-Party factionalists came out against our Party, each with the backing of a big power.

Today the idea of reliance on external forces which remains in the minds of some south Korean people offers a big obstacle to the solution of the question of the reunification of our country. Therefore, we must energetically instill the idea of political independence in the south Korean people and youth.

Of late, the south Korean youth have begun to insist that economic self-sustenance is necessary to secure political independence. This is a very good sign. Certainly, economic self-sustenance is unthinkable under U.S. imperialist colonial rule, and if such ideas continue to grow among the south Korean youth, a powerful struggle may break out against the U.S imperialists and their lackeys. Especially, if we north Korean people oppose U.N. supervision or foreign supervision and continue to strongly demand reunification by the Korean people themselves, the south Korean youth will definitely rise in response to this.

We are now building socialism in the northern half, but we must remember that our country still remains divided. If we conduct educational work in the same way as in the countries where the revolution has triumphed on a nation-wide scale, it will not suit our reality. How can we forget the question of national sovereignty and independence when we have not yet liberated the more than 20 million south Korean people? If we were to confine ourselves to the building of socialism in the northern half alone, we could just sit idle, singing the praises of socialism. But we must never do this, for we are making revolution. We must carry the national-liberation revolution to the end and accomplish the socialist revolution across the country, come what may. For this, we should strengthen education in patriotism and lay a greater emphasis on the question of national liberation and the sovereignty and independence of the country. Otherwise, we will not be able to carry through the revolutionary tasks entrusted to the Korean Communists and the Korean people. Herein lies the very reason that education in patriotism should hold a particularly important place in class education in our country today.

Another important thing in educating the soldiers and working people in revolutionary spirit is to strengthen their confidence in the victory of the revolution and cultivate in them the spirit of love for the future.

Faith in the victory of the revolution is all the more essential in our country. When the revolutionary struggle assumes

a difficult and protracted character, those whose belief in the revolution is unstable may become weary and vacillate. It should, therefore, be driven home to the entire people that the revolution will definitely triumph.

If our present revolutionary cause were not to emerge victorious, people would become disappointed and dispirited and few would continue to devote themselves heart and soul to the cause, no matter how just and good it is. But if they are certain that the revolution will surely triumph, they will devote their all to the struggle, even though final victory may not be realized in their lifetime. It is precisely because of their firm conviction of the victory of the revolution that true Communists are able to fight out heroically for the triumph of the revolution, fearing no enemy, however mighty, and courageously overcoming all difficulties and trials.

The downfall of imperialism and the victory of socialism is an inexorable law of development of history. Historical facts prove that imperialism is doomed to ruin even though it appears to be strong. Japanese imperialism was ruined, German and Italian imperialism were also crushed. The American scoundrels, too, will go to ruin. Already there are clear signs that U.S. imperialism is declining. We must make it thoroughly known to our working people that imperialism will be destroyed, all forces of reaction will be destroyed and socialism is certain to win victory. We must thus encourage everyone to fight to the end for the accomplishment of the revolution, with firm confidence in its triumph.

Furthermore, the youth should be educated to love not only the socialist system, already established, but also communism, to be built in the future.

We must not rest content with the present state of affairs. If we do, we cannot develop or make progress. We should always set goal higher and higher and struggle to attain them. Uninterrupted struggle and continued advance will enable us to complete our revolution and build a paradise of communism.

Those who love the future, who always set high goals of

struggle for themselves and strive to achieve them, are capable of living more frugally and more militantly, always leading a cheerful and active life. So the education in love for the future is of great importance in establishing a revolutionary mode of life among the working people.

The work of arming the soldiers and working people with the revolutionary spirit of the working class must always be conducted in close combination with the education in the Party's policies and in the revolutionary traditions.

In order to carry out our country's revolution with a mind of our own, it is necessary for us to equip ourselves fully with our Party's policies and our revolutionary traditions. The policies of our Party are a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Korea and the guide to our action. Our revolutionary traditions are the indomitable fighting spirit and the priceless experiences and achievements of the Korean Communists in the course of their protracted, heroic struggle to carve out the road to victory for the Korean revolution, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. If we are fully armed with our Party's policies and revolutionary traditions, we will be able to adhere to our revolutionary position and wage an uninterrupted, resolute revolutionary struggle in all adversities and ordeals without losing the spirit of *Juche*. Neither revisionism, dogmatism nor flunkeyism can ever infect those who are armed with the Party policies and revolutionary traditions. Only such people can be said to be true Korean revolutionaries in whom the ideological system of the Party is firmly established. We must train all the soldiers and working people to be revolutionaries of this sort

This means that our soldiers and working people must be well acquainted, first of all, with the objectives and tasks of the revolution and know the methods of revolutionary struggle and its future prospects. We should explain to the soldiers and working people what the basic tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are as well as how rich and strong our country will become, how well-off our people will be and what great significance it will have in relieving the plight of the south Korean

people when it is fulfilled. They should also be made to realize fully how we are building socialism. All these matters are explicitly stated in the report to the Fourth Congress of our Party. All soldiers and working people should be induced to make a deep study of the Party documents and become well informed of the Party's policies and lines put forward in each period of the revolution and of the intentions of the Party Central Committee. Thus, we should see that all people think and act as the Party Central Committee does and fight to carry out the Party's policies through thick and thin.

We must expect an arduous struggle in the future, too. We should follow the examples of the heroic struggle of our revolutionary forerunners and assimilate and develop their fighting spirit. In this way, we should see that everyone fights for the reunification and independence of our country and for the final victory of the Korean revolution with the same revolutionary spirit and unflagging fighting will that the anti-Japanese guerrillas displayed in the deep forests of Mt. Paekdu-san.

Along with class education, it is necessary to further strengthen communist moral education. So far our Party has paid a great deal of attention to communist moral education and has already achieved considerable success. The communist pattern of work and life has begun to take root among the working masses and there are many examples of people fighting devotedly for their comrades and collectives. Many beautiful and impressive accounts of communist deeds have been coming forth from among the workers and peasants, and from intellectuals like teachers and doctors whose level of consciousness is relatively high.

But we cannot rest content with the successes already achieved. We still have many shortcomings in the work of communist moral education.

Quite a few people still do not love the collective, do not love labour and do not cherish and protect state property, common property.

Even in our society, hopeless egoists may appear if peo-

ple are left alone without moral education. If people become selfish, they will be mad with a desire for a life of plenty just for themselves, not caring even about their parents, brothers and sisters, relatives, friends and comrades, just as in capitalist society. What's the good of living this way? Since we intend to build a communist society and get people all to live equally well, we cannot allow them to become egoists like that.

The survivals of obsolete ideas and old habits of life, which have come down through thousands of years, cannot disappear of their own accord in a brief period, just because a new socialist system has been set up. The complete eradication of outdated moral concepts and habits of life from among the working people, requires a long, persevering struggle and positive education for building up new communist morality.

However, we have failed to successfully conduct communist moral education among the working people in a systematic way. For an effective moral education, social and home education should be conducted well, and, at the same time, should be properly combined with school education.

In the future we should prepare textbooks, publish booklets and carry articles in the magazines on communist moral education and should also produce many films and dramas on the theme of moral education

Education in communist morality should be intensified in the People's Army, too.

Most important of all here is to have the revolutionary traditions of unity between officers and men further developed in the army. In the past, among the anti-Japanese guerrillas, commanding officers and soldiers shared sleeping quarters and meals, joy and sorrow with each other. At that time the commanders did not have a family life and they took care of their men at all times, living together with them.

At present, however, the officers have a family life, and do not share sleeping quarters and eating with the soldiers. This is a right and necessary thing, of course. There should be differences between the officers, who will serve the army all

through their life, and the soldiers, who will go out into society after three or four years of military service.

However, we should be deeply conscious that, since they do not share sleeping quarters and meals with the soldiers, the officers could become estranged from the life of their men, which would make it difficult to ensure unity between men and officers. As a matter of fact, if officers do not go among the soldiers and live with them constantly, they will be unable to have a good grasp of the mentality of the soldiers, and a gap could appear between them.

If we do not manage to give a full communist moral education to the officers in conjunction with education in revolutionary traditions, they will not be concerned about the life their men lead, while themselves living a comfortable life in a well-heated home with meals served by their wives, and they will only seek a still more comfortable life. As the saying goes: "Much would have more." And they will, in the long run, come to hate even walking, and they will want a car; once they get a car, they will want a bigger one so as to stretch out their legs comfortably in it. Then they can no longer make revolution.

If you want to make revolution, you must discard the egoistic idea of living well only for yourselves. Revolutionaries must be ready to sacrifice their private life.

Officers must organize their daily life in the spirit of always sharing the sweet and the bitter with the soldiers and make conscious efforts not to be estranged from their men. Whenever you enjoy a special delicacy, you must think of your soldiers; when it rains, or when your troops camp out or are on an arduous march, you must not go home to sleep but stay with your men.

The officers should be strictly prohibited from following such pernicious practices as having their men chop firewood or carry water for them to make their family life more comfortable. This is little less than the behaviour of officers in a privileged caste. There are very acute contradictions between officers and men in the imperialist army where officers ex-

ercise such privileges. We must take all precautions against the slightest expression of such evil tendencies in our revolutionary army.

In the revolutionary army, officers and men are all comrades who share life and death, sweet and bitter, for the sake of the revolution. Superiors should love and help subordinates and the latter should respect and defend the former, thus ensuring firm unity between them. Officers must always love their men as their own brothers and show day-to-day concern for their daily life; the division commander should give assistance to the regimental commander, the regimental commander to the battalion commander, the battalion commander to the company commander and the company commander to the platoon leader. The unity between officers and men must be maintained in this way. It is very important to ensure unity between officers and men in order for our army to become the army of our Party, a class army and a revolutionary army. Only in this way will our army always overcome difficulties through unity and win victory under all circumstances.

Also, soldiers should be educated in the spirit of taking good care of weapons and economizing on ammunition. Without weapons and ammunition you cannot fight the enemy. We should know how the anti-Japanese guerrillas treasured their weapons.

Only when the soldiers are educated in the spirit of taking good care of weapons and saving ammunition, will they manage state and co-operative farm property well and display patriotic devotion in socialist construction in future, when they are given assignments to work at factories or co-operative farms.

I visited front line units this time to see how they are getting along and found that the living conditions of the soldiers are not bad. What we have to do now is to fully equip them all with the revolutionary communist spirit by strengthening their class education and communist moral education. Most important today in strengthening the fighting capacity of our army is to conduct such political and ideological work among the soldiers in a thoroughgoing manner.

3. ON ENHANCING THE ROLE OF LITERATURE AND ART IN CLASS EDUCATION

I should like to express some views on how to make better use of various educational media, literary and art works in particular, in class education.

We have a lot of educational media—newspapers, magazines, novels, plays, films and so on. However, all the numerous educational media fail to play their part to the full today.

We have at our disposal a wealth of good materials for the education of the working people. A proper comparison in explaining the diametrically different realities of north and south, for instance, will enable the working people to get a profound understanding of the advantages of the socialist system. However, we are not attending to this work well.

Besides, we have many splendid achievements to our credit. There are too many praiseworthy things to enumerate—the great successes our people have scored in socialist construction, the peerless heroism being displayed by them, hosts of fine communist stories being created among the working masses, etc. But we fail to give proper publicity to them.

This is why everyone who visits our country, whether he is a foreigner or a young person from south Korea, observes that we are underestimating our actual achievements in our propaganda. It is true that our propaganda is below par.

Why do we fail to propagandize our excellent achievements properly? The main reason is that the work is left to a few writers and journalists and the broad masses are not actively enlisted in it.

As I have said time and again, it is wrong to make writing something mysterious. There is nothing mysterious about literature and art. Anyone who has graduated from middle school can write about what he feels and thinks.

A great many middle school graduates can be found in th countryside, too, not to speak of towns, and still more in th army. There are ever so many people who are able to write. is advisable to get all of them to write what they have seen an felt. Then you can collect their writings and have highly qual fied writers pick out good stories and give them a bit of artist polish. That's all there is to it.

This method can be applied also to scenario and pl writing.

Generally, the cultural level of our working people is n low today. We also have a good many professional writers an composers. Nothing is impossible for us if we mobilize all o forces.

When we were waging the anti-Japanese armed strugg we had neither writers nor composers, but we staged drama made up songs and put out magazines and pamphlets

We got together and had discussions to write a play compose music. And yet, the masses warmly acclaimed o plays, and many young people who were moved by them vi with each other to join the guerrillas. From this experience is evident that our plays captivated the hearts of the audien any way.

Magazines, pamphlets and the like were also put out primary school graduates or by middle school graduates at be

True, some crudeness was unavoidable in these works, b they were enough to educate the masses effectively.

There is nothing extraordinary about literature and a The essential thing is to depict the truth A certain degree clumsiness does not matter so long as the masses understa well.

As for magazines, I think the design of *Chollima* is agre able. It would be better to increase the staff of reporters a correspondents for this sort of magazine and induce many pe ple in each village, factory and school to write about differe things that take place in town and country, and send it to th magazine.

At first they may be not good at writing, of course. But

is advisable to have their writings published, even though poorly written, after giving a good polishing to them. This encouragement will help them write a better article with interest next time. Their quality will also be enhanced through doing this time and again.

We should thus induce workers and farmers, workteam leaders and management personnel to write, and chairmen of county Party committees and county people's committees, too.

Scenarios and dramas must be created on a mass scale. When many people are drawn into creative work, a variety of material may emerge and this will, in turn, encourage the work on a mass scale.

This will make it possible to obtain plenty of good material. If there are outstanding items among them, journalists or writers may go to the authors to help perfect them.

Why do we consider the play *A Red Agitator* to be a good piece? Because it gives a good portrayal of a stirring event taking place in our countryside as it really is. People like Li Sin Ja are to be found not only in Rihyon-*ri* but in many other places, too. If a lot of people write about such laudable cases taking place around them and writers and artists produce their works on that basis, they can produce all the excellent works desired. Our literary and art works must always be based on such lively sources.

We must find many good stories by enlisting masses of people who have a vocation for writing, and publish them in the newspapers or work them up into literary pieces to educate the working masses.

Next, let me tell you about how to deal with subjects based on the revolutionary traditions in novels, films and plays.

In the light of the present situation of our country, it is natural that literature and art should take up many subjects from our revolutionary traditions and war experiences. But these subjects must be dealt with in such a way as to suit the feelings of our young people of today.

At present, the young people find our films on the theme of the revolutionary traditions or war to be too stiff, and bor-

ing. This means that these films are not properly combined with our life of today.

So, I say our comrades do not know how to administer medicine effectively. People are unwilling to take a bitter medicine however good for them it may be. A bitter medicine should be sugar-coated before it is administered. The point is that you do not know how to sugar-coat skilfully.

When you make a war film, you should not present only battle scenes from start to finish but describe the life of today as much as possible while inserting less battle scenes, and also strive to make your works rich in emotion so as to meet the taste of young people.

Suppose you make a film based on the battle of Height 1211. You can start it with a soldier's reminiscences of a hero who fought well on Height 1211, and properly associate the hero's life in the past with his present life. In this way, you can produce an interesting film. You might also show the hero's childhood; what education he received from his parents in his early days, how he studied at school, how he kept on good terms with his friends, what sort of girl he fell in love with. You can further describe how bravely the hero fought the enemy on Height 1211 after joining the army, and what the soldier himself was doing at that time and what impressions he got from the hero's struggle; you can also portray how actively he is participating in the building of socialism at present, how he fares today and how his heroic friend and his parents are getting along and so on, thereby introducing topics of today's life Thus, it is possible to deal with both past and present life, introduce valour and heroism in battle and give a good description of life's emotions as well.

But the film entitled *Height 1211* which was put out recently is all fighting from beginning to end.

In contrast with it, the film *Under the Bright Sun* is a fine piece. It gives a true portrayal not only of the revolutionary struggle of the anti-Japanese guerrillas but also of today's struggle for socialist construction and the people's happy life under the socialist system. True, the sequences of the recollec-

tion of former times seem a little long, but, it is, in my opinion, a good work which is suited for our present-day life any way.

We must bring about a great improvement in film production.

Films are a very important means of mass education. But our cinematographic art is in a very backward state today.

It has been several years since the February 8 Film Studio was set up but it has not produced any war film worth mentioning.

We are to blame, of course, for having failed to educate writers and artists properly, but the chief reason is that script writing has been shrouded in mystery. You are gravely mistaken if you think only certain professionals can write scenarios. Anyone can write an excellent piece, if he just goes among the people and depicts the truth. The fault lies with writers and artists who do not delve deeply into actual life, making a mystery of literature and art.

We have been producing films for years now, yet we have had no film dealing with the working class. Our country has thousands of factories and a heroic working class. There are no end of examples of the valiant struggle of the workers that can be described. But no film has ever appeared depicting the working class.

One day I saw a Soviet feature film *Bright Path* together with some writers and artists and then consulted them as to what had to be done in the future to improve motion picture work in our country. The film was about a woman, a former maid at an inn, who distinguished herself as a weaver, bringing about an innovation at the time of the Stakhanov movement, and in time became a Deputy to the Soviet. It depicts the struggle of the working class well and has healthy music that gives courage to the audience.

So, I told our writers and artists that they, too, should make films that way.

How many examples there are of the heroic struggle of the working class in our country, where the Chollima Movement is being unfolded! What we have constructed on the debris in

the postwar years has not come all by itself. It is the result of the heroic struggle waged by our working class displaying extraordinary patriotic devotion.

Our working class fought well, indeed. In order to save their factories from the enemy's bombing, they dismantled machines and carried them on their backs across mountains and rivers; they fought hard battles for postwar rehabilitation and construction, under conditions of great austerity.

But when told to depict something reminiscent of the past, you merely show scenes of utter destruction caused by the desperate bombing of the American bandits. Why do you present desolate scenes of ruin only, instead of the heroic battles of our working class? Only those who are ignorant of the people's struggle can do that.

As I said once last year, documentary films, too, are poorly made.

In our documentary films today there appear roll after roll of fine landscape with streaming water and towering rocks like Mt. Kumgang-san and Mt. Chilbo-san but few of them depict how people work, struggle and learn at factories, schools, hospitals and other places. That is why I once said: "You shoot too many waterfalls. Do you think of living on the waterfalls of Mt. Kumgang-san?"

Also appearing quite often in documentary films are meeting halls. Meeting halls are usually shown in the first sequences of documentary films. We've had enough of meeting halls. Why do you always do this? What's the use of screening the platform of a meeting every time or filming leading functionaries delivering speeches or awarding prizes? The audiences will lose interest in the film because similar scenes are repeated.

Documentary films ought to show people labouring heroically at factories, farms and fishing ports. They can make a real newsreel. If a newsreel just presents the same men you always see and the conference halls familiar to you, how can it be worthy of its name?

As for the conference halls, shoot them a couple of times a year when there are meetings of special importance like a

ssembly or a Party Congress. That's enough. How lm all the activists' meetings which are held almost ?

wsreel is supposed to show lifelike scenes of the strug- . actually develops, and present them when they are sh. It must show how people are working all over the —at factories and farm villages, schools and hospitals. nen will it suit our feelings, reflect the superiority of the st system and, accordingly, enjoy popularity among the nce and have an educative value. Our cinema is too back- . We must rapidly raise the level of both feature films documentaries so that they reflect our life vividly.

To raise the level of our literary and art works, it is neces- y for writers and artists to delve more deeply into real life.

We have a bad practice of awarding prizes too often. Prizes e awarded whenever a work is created or a piece of music is omposed fairly well. And the rest, that receive no prize, are regarded as a reject.

Of course, I have no objection to awarding many prizes. But I think we had better work a little more, and then receive an award. We should be a bit more modest and make more serious efforts to improve our work. Getting together for drinking is not a right behaviour when you win a prize for your work. That could lead to ruin and dissipation.

We must work harder to intensify class education and communist moral education, propagate the Party's policies and show the heroic struggle of the people. We must produce many superior works.

Besides, in order to have our people better informed of the actual situation in south Korea it would be desirable to publish an illustrated magazine with plenty of photographs showing the realities of south Korea. In this way we must induce people to feel sympathy for the hard lot of the south Korean compatriots, to hate the U.S. imperialists and their stooges and resolve to further accelerate socialist construction in the northern half, live a frugal life and fight persistently to carry olution through to the end.

If we continually strive to enhance the role of the educational media such as radio, newspapers, magazines, novels, dramas, films and others and impart class education and communist moral education according to the requirements of our reality, we will register greater successes in this work.

4. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK IN THE ARMY

Now I should like to touch briefly on Party work in the army. Those who think that Party work generally means holding meetings, admitting new members into the Party and penalizing those who make errors are grossly mistaken.

The essential constituent of Party work is the work with cadres and the work of rousing the Party organizations to action. Party work is, above all, work with the people who form the Party organization. Most important in work with the people is the work with cadres. We can say that Party work is going well when the work with cadres is done well. Cadres in the army mean the officers. The Party committees must give top priority to doing a good job in the work with officers.

Work with cadres can be performed either through private conversations or in a collective way at a meeting. If the commander, deputy commander for political affairs, and the chief of staff of the regiment and other executive committee members of the regimental Party committee co-ordinate their efforts in buckling down to work with cadres, they can get to know all the cadres in the regiment like the palms of their hands.

But you are not doing your work with cadres regularly, simply having a talk with them when there is some trouble. You are not doing a good job of keeping in constant touch with cadres, studying their merits and demerits and educating them. You cannot have a grasp of the actual conditions of the cadres if you only see them at meetings or simply issue orders or receive reports.

meet and talk with the cadres often, you will r their good points and bad points and come to rious questions which await solutions. In the case who have a low political level, the problem of rais- ome to the fore; with comrades whose cultural level who are loose in their moral conduct, the problem nhancing their cultural level or setting their moral e right track; and with those who have insufficient ge of military affairs, the problem of elevating their practical know-how comes up.

n holding a meeting with you now, but with this meet- ne I can hardly get a full grasp of the actual conditions of units. Of course, it is impossible for me to personally talk every one of you. I, for my part, have cadres with whom ge to conduct day-to-day work. I do my routine work chief- with the vice-chairmen and department directors of the ty Central Committee, vice-premiers and ministers of the binet, responsible functionaries of various social organiza- ons, and with high-ranking generals in the army. In the ourse of my conversations with them, I discover quite a few problems.

A little while ago a deputy regimental commander for political affairs told us that he held talks with eight persons a month. That is too few. He ought to talk with about 20 persons. He can have talks with at least one person a day, while attending to other business.

You might send for the man you want to talk with, but you can also go down to a unit and have talks with your comrades while living with them or helping them in their work, or take advantage of their presence at a meeting.

Your private conversation could cover any problems ranging from their political and ideological life, their army life in the unit and their cultural life, down to their personal life. If a comrade's weak point is political knowledge you might recommend books on politics to him, and if his cultural level is low ould advise him to read some novels or poems. And then im to relate the knowledge he has obtained from

books with his own work, so as to put him to the checkup whether he has a proper understanding of the contents of the books. In this way you will be able to give our cadres a class education, education in the revolutionary traditions and education in Party policies, too, in a more concrete way.

Work with cadres can also be done by having the executive committee hear a report by a given comrade on his work. This type of work should be conducted by understanding the actual work of the cadres, by giving them good advice and helping them work better, instead of digging into the faults of comrades who have committed serious errors and scolding them at a meeting. At present the absolute majority of our cadres are all hard-working, good people. Their only drawback is that they have insufficient qualifications and do not know how to do their work properly. That is why work with cadres should be done with the main emphasis on the educational work aimed at teaching them work methods and improving their qualifications.

You must not think that political work with cadres is conducted exclusively by the divisional political department chief or the deputy regimental commander for political affairs. It should be carried out by divisional and regimental commanders, by all Party committee members.

Our experience tells us that it is of paramount importance to educate people through private talks and meetings In the old days, when we were engaged in guerrilla warfare we used to go down to the units, carrying our bundles with us, and march together with the men, and we broached some questions among the guerrillas during rest periods to conduct propaganda and educate them. Since we were always having talks with individual guerrillas, we had a full grasp of the strong and weak points, character and even hobbies of each comrade So, even when a comrade committed an error, we could offer him criticism suited to his level and character This led those criticized to accept it without taking offence and correct their errors readily.

If we work with cadres in this manner we will prevent

them from making mistakes and build our ranks solidly. We did not carry on work with cadres in this way before, and as a result, we were unaware that the anti-Party factionalists were spoiling lots of people and we could not prevent them from doing harm. If we do not pay proper attention to the work with cadres, much the same thing could happen in the future, too.

Our cadres are the priceless wealth of the state. In the years of the Fatherland Liberation War they fought bravely, without sparing their lives, and safeguarded our Party and country, and they fought devotedly in the postwar years as well, to strengthen and develop our People's Army. We should give active assistance to these cadres so that they unite around the Party as firmly as ever and achieve splendid results in their work, avoiding errors. Meanwhile, we must always give class education and education in revolutionary traditions to the new, young cadres, so that all of them inherit the glorious traditions of our People's Army and develop into excellent military cadres, boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution.

Another important thing in Party work is to keep the Party organizations constantly on the go. It is necessary always to see whether the Party cells and Party committees hold meetings in time to consider essential matters, whether they have dealt with them correctly, how they organize studies for the Party members and how they conduct mass education and so on, and to supervise the Party organizations at all levels so that they ensure a proper organizational life for the Party members according to the principles described in the Party Rules.

When the ranks of cadres are firmly built and the Party organizations do their work normally, then all the Party members will be roused to activity, and when this happens all the soldiers will be roused to activity. Therefore, the Party committees in the army should make every effort to normalize the work with cadres and the work of keeping Party organizations in action.

5. ON STRENGTHENING THE TIES WITH THE LOCAL POPULATION

Now, one of the most essential problems in strengthening our People's Army is the work with local population.

As you all know, "As the fish cannot live without water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people" was the motto of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. This motto, in the last analysis, emphasizes the importance of the mass line. In the army the commanders cannot live without their men, while the army cannot live without the people.

However strong the army may be, it can never display its might unless it is supported by the local population. This is as true under our present regime as in conditions of guerrilla warfare. If the people in the areas where the army is stationed are badly off or not well-disposed toward our government and army, it will greatly affect the morale of the soldiers and will also be very disadvantageous in the fight against the enemy. Therefore, the People's Army must always maintain close ties with the population and actively help them to achieve a comfortable living standard.

There are two most important questions to be solved in the work with the local people One is to help them to live decently, and the other is to awaken their class consciousness

To do this work well it is necessary, first of all, to have a correct grasp of the actual conditions in the areas where army units are stationed. The political department of the regiment, at least, as well as of the division, must have full knowledge of the general conditions in the county where its units are stationed, and must acquaint itself with the concrete situation in the *ri* where the troops are quartered. In order to grasp the local situation, it is necessary, above all, to know the local Party organizations well. You should know in detail what sort

the *ri* Party committee chairman is, what the makeup of Party committee is, what kind of people the co-operative management board chairman and workteam leaders are, the composition of the population is, what shortcomings have in their work and so on.

After becoming completely familiar with the actual situa-n in the locality, you must take measures to help the local rty organizations. Up to now the People's Army has assisted e local population in various forms. It has given them a help-g hand in labour as well as technical and economic assistance. This is, of course, necessary. But this sort of help alone is not enough to solve the basic problems. People in some individual villages in the mountain areas are badly off primarily because of unsatisfactory Party work, though this is also partially attributable to a shortage of manpower or other unfavourable material conditions. Until Party work is set on the right course, no amount of material and technical assistance will do any more good than pouring water into a bottomless pot—there will be no end to it.

The People's Army should, first of all, render political assistance to local Party organizations, so that they may perform their work well. It is a good thing that you attend Party meetings to help them and that you explain and disseminate the Party's policies among the masses. The army has many qualified lecturers and many comrades experienced in Party organizational work. If these political forces in the units are mobilized for assisting the *ri* Party organizations in their work, it will help greatly to improve the work of the *ri* Party organizations.

Some suppose that, because the front line areas are all mountainous, the people there are not well-off, but that is not true. As far as the natural conditions are concerned, those of Changsong and Pyokdong are more unfavourable than here. And yet, people over there are all well-off now. When we visited a unit yesterday we had a talk with a soldier from Changsong. According to him, his family in Changsong was distributed 2.5 tons of grain and 2,500 *won* in cash, whereas here in th farm village the average share per household amounted

some 1.6 tons of grain and 100 *won* in cash. The soldier also said that the natural conditions here are not less favourable than in Changsong.

Needless to say, it is not that the Changsong people were well-off from the outset. It took us four or five years to get them to develop the bountiful life they lead today.

When I visited Changsong for the first time in 1955, the living conditions of the local people there were terrible. For a year or two I tried different methods of shoring up the work of the county and improving the livelihood of the people, but failed to solve the problem.

Therefore, the Party deemed it necessary to improve the work of the county Party organization first of all, selected an excellent cadre for the chairmanship of the county Party committee, and built up the county Party committee with fine comrades, before pushing the work ahead energetically

As in all other work, a very important question in county work is that the county Party committee chairman and other cadres in the county set an example themselves in implementing the Party's policies. The chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee had remarkable executive capacity, though he spoke little. He personally went out to direct Party-cell meetings, delivered lectures to the masses and took the lead in carrying loads on his back at the construction sites of locally-run factories. Since the county Party committee chairman came out at dawn to work with a *chige* on his back, not only did vice-chairmen and section heads of the county Party committee follow him, but even the nurses from the hospital came out. In this way they built levees to ward off floods and erected houses and factories. They were active in pushing ahead with the work of gathering and processing large quantities of wild fruit and extensively developed stockbreeding by making use of the mountainside. Farmers each got a hundred *won* in cash just for the wild berries or haws they collected, and earned another hundred *won* with a calf they raised to sell. In doing so, they set a fine example of putting into practice the Party slogan: "In mountainous areas make proper use of the mountains" and

proved that people in the mountains can live as well e on the plains.

his area abounds with mountains and grass but I couldn't a single sheep or cow in the ravines. Farmers here seem relying only on tiny tracts of land at the foot of the moun-s, without turning the mountains themselves to good ac-nt. Worse, the functionaries of the Party and government gans here fail to do proper political work among the peasants, th the result that farming is unsatisfactory. This is why peo-e are still badly off.

You are Communists who are ready to fight for the rev-olution at the risk of your lives. It would be quite absurd if you couldn't even lead your neighbours properly. A genuine rev-olutionary army should not only be able to fight the enemy proficiently but also know how to conduct political work well among the people. The anti-Japanese guerrillas were very brave fighters when fighting the enemy arms in hand, and all of them were excellent political workers among the local peo-ple.

Those who aren't fully aware of the real state of things may think that the Changsong people have become well-off because the centre gave them plenty of things. But we didn't give them anything special. All that we gave them, if any, were some competent cadres we assigned them. We helped the people in Changsong mainly in their Party work.

The basic problem cannot be solved so long as you help people by providing them with some manpower as you now do. We must help people politically and revolutionarily. By giv-ing help to their Party work, we must induce all the local people to actively implement the Party's policies on their own initiative and do their best to build up their native places in a beautiful way, and raise their living standard.

The Party's policy for improving the living conditions o the people in the mountain areas has been set forth clearly. I is necessary to extensively develop local industry, stockbree ing, fruit growing and the like by making effective use of t experiences gained by Changsong and Pukchong. If the peo

come to take an interest in their work and are roused to action in that way, all problems will be solved.

Now, as soon as the people in Changsong hear about a newly issued Party resolution or directive, they willingly come to visit the Paty and government bodies to inquire about its contents. Everything will go smoothly if everyone becomes that sensitive to Party policies. We must see to it that people are awakened on their own and achieve a bountiful life by their own efforts. If we do good political work, the people here, too, will come to lead as plentiful a life as the people in Changsong.

It is necessary to improve the living standards of the local population in the front line areas rapidly, in two or three years, and unite them more closely around the Party.

At the first stage, we must start with the work of bringing the Party's policies home to them. If people come to understand the Party's policies and put them into practice, their living conditions will also improve and their unity will naturally be consolidated still more.

The vicinities of the zone where the People's Army troops are stationed must thus be built up properly. Only then can you enlist the aid of the masses and confront the enemy without any preoccupations.

The method of political work is now given explicitly in the Party's documents They explain everything lucidly—how to get a grasp of the actual conditions of the masses, how to propagate the Party's policies, how to carry on work with the families of former "peace maintenance corps" members, with families of those who went south and other groups with complex backgrounds, and how to fight against scoundrels. All you need to do is study and understand them more profoundly and give effective help to the local Party organizations.

Bad people may be found even among local Party functionaries. In such cases it is advisable for you to submit your opinions to higher-level Party bodies. It is also necessary to stimulate the county Party committees and the provincial Party committees incessantly so that they are obliged to do their work with the people along the front line.

en the local Party organizations and the People's Army orts and energetically carry on political work in this ne work in the front line areas will rapidly improve, the there will become well-off, and your rear will truly be lidated.

6. ON MILITARY AND OTHER PROBLEMS

Now, I should like to say a few words on military problems.

So far you have done a great deal of work. You have carried out a lot of defence construction and the ranks of cadres have been built up properly. The morale of the soldiers is high; you have enough reserves of the necessary materials, and everything is in full combat readiness. Both men and officers lead a good life.

My personal inspection this time has further convinced me that you really enjoy a good life though I already formed a general idea of it from the reports of the Defence Minister and the General Political Bureau Director. Your life seems quite different from what I saw in 1954 when I visited Panmun County.

However, we should not be complacent with the results we have already achieved. We must conduct combat training more effectively and make consistent efforts to further perfect our combat readiness.

We must remember that most of our recruits lack combat experience, and must take into consideration the fact that new types of weapons are coming out one after another and, accordingly, constant changes are taking place in tactics as wel
We must acquire a thorough mastery of new kinds of weapo
and continue to study defence manoeuvres against the n
weapons the enemy has shipped in.

The People's Army is entrusted with the weighty resp

sibility of defending our country for the Party and the people. You must be thoroughly prepared in all respects so as to be completely able to smash any enemy and must equip yourselves more fully with new, continually-developing military science and technology.

You must not tell yourselves that you can beat the enemy hands down just because you advanced as far as the Rakdonggang River area and fought the Yankees over three years or think you don't need to learn any more because you have fought since the days of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle. We should try to read just one more book in order to acquire a knowledge of new military science and technology.

You should make a study of the enemy's weapons and strategy and tactics, too. We can defeat the enemy if we know him well.

In modern warfare it is important to make better use of artillery, tanks and the like and ensure higher manoeuvrability. We must, therefore, increase the technical knowledge and skills of all the arms. And everyone should constantly improve his marksmanship to become an infallible crack shot.

We should never miss the target, so as not to waste precious shells. If the enemy scores a single hit out of a hundred, we shouldn't miss once in a hundred shots.

All our weapons and war materials belong to the people Those who do not value and take care of the people's property are not patriots.

Today our people are performing two difficult tasks simultaneously. We are effecting all-round industrialization while at the same time carrying out the great work of increasing the nation's defence capabilities. Thanks to our advanced social system and our Party's correct policies we are successfully carrying on these two difficult tasks by our own efforts These two tasks should be carried out simultaneously. In fact, if we had not established a powerful industry, we could not have great defence capabilities we now possess And if we hadn't increased the country's defence capabilities, our people would not be able to build socialism with a sense of security today

In proportion to population, our country has the largest army among the socialist countries. While undertaking economic construction on a large scale, we allocate a huge amount of materials and forces to the nation's defence construction. A colossal amount of iron and cement was invested in the tunnels you have driven. With the same equipment and material we could build huge numbers of factories and dwellings. It is therefore necessary to cherish and take good care of the tunnels and all the other military installations we have built, and economize on arms, ammunition and other war materials to the maximum. Only then will it be possible for us to carry on economic construction and the nation's defence construction on a larger scale.

From olden times a strong man who distinguished himself in battle has been called a "match for a hundred," which means that one man can beat a hundred foes. If we conduct better training and strengthen our defences, it is possible for us to become a "match for a hundred."

We are not in a position to expand the army at present. We are already short of manpower. Further expansion of the army would hinder the construction of the national economy.

Therefore, the only correct way is to strengthen our positions with the existing military personnel, conduct military training better and equip all the soldiers fully with the revolutionary spirit, so that each of them can handle a hundred foes. If defence construction is carried out more adequately and all soldiers acquire the marksmanship of a crack shot and arm themselves with an indomitable fighting spirit, it is quite easy to make everyone a match for a hundred.

Only when you increase your fighting capacity and make our defence line impregnable can our people continue to advance in the saddle of Chollima in socialist construction. That will amount to putting into effect the Party's slogan that both socialist construction and national defence must be ensured properly, with a sickle and hammer in one hand, and a rifle in the other.

Only if we build socialism better and increase our strength

still further can the question of national reunification be solved at an early date.

Two things are essential for the solution of the question of the revolution in the southern half of our country. One is that we build socialism more successfully in the northern half and turn our revolutionary position into an impregnable fortress and the other is that the people in the southern half themselves be encouraged to rise up. The revolution in the southern half cannot be accomplished unless the people there rise up themselves.

Certainly, this does not mean that we are going to leave the revolution in the southern half to the south Korean people only. It is the common duty for the entire Korean people to drive out the U.S. imperialists and reunify the country. Therefore, we must continue to wage a stubborn struggle to bring our revolution to final completion. We must not forget our south Korean compatriots; we must prepare our revolutionary forces firmly.

However, it is impossible after all to accomplish the revolution in the southern half without the struggle of the people in the south. This we keenly felt during the first southward march.

Pak Hon Yong, a spy on the payroll of the American scoundrels, bragged that south Korea had [illegible] Party members and that in Seoul alone there were as many as [illegible]. But in actual fact, this rascal, in league with the Yankees, totally destroyed our Party in south Korea. Although we advanced as far as the Rakdong-gang River area [illegible] Pusan is located a stone's throw from Taegu, and if only a few thousand workers in Pusan had [illegible] the question would have been different. If some people in the southern half had risen in revolt, we would have definitely liberated even Pusan and the American scoundrels would not have been able to land.

Therefore, it is most important to awaken the people in the southern half and induce them to participate in the rev-

It will be some time before all the people reach an adequate level of consciousness. The south Korean people are constantly being trained and awakened by hunger and poverty. People are awakened only after they have been deceived time and again and undergone bitter hardships personally.

When Syngman Rhee was ousted, I met the students of the Songdo College of Political Economy, who were very much excited, for most of them were from the southern half. They were overwhelmed with joy, exclaiming in unison: "Everything is settled now, isn't it, Premier?" At that time I spoke to them in this way: "When Syngman Rhee is toppled there will appear a Syngman 'Chang.' When Syngman 'Chang' is overthrown, a Syngman 'Pak' will appear. In this process of repetition, the people in the southern half will be fully awakened and will eventually rise up against the enemy. Only then will the problem of the revolution in the southern half be solved and will you be able to return to your native places."

In fact, Syngman "Chang" was installed after Syngman Rhee was ousted. When Chang Myon was in power repression eased somewhat, and people started rising. At the time the question of reunification seemed to be really ripening into solution. But it is not so simple as long as the Yankees are there. Scared by the move of the south Korean young people to rush up to Panmunjom to meet the youth of the north, the Yankees instigated their spies to overthrow the Chang Myon regime, and installed those uniformed gangs of spies in office. Sooner or later these military gangs, too, will be thrown out. But it is a foregone conclusion that yet another scoundrel will assume power in their stead. Don't think that everything will be over when Pak Jung Hi is ousted. The point is that the people should be awakened. All young people should be awakened, the workers and peasants should be awakened, and, further, "ROK army" soldiers should be awakened. They are now being awakened gradually. We must actively help them to wake up quickly.

If the young people of the south come and see Pyongyang at least, how soon they will be awakened! If we build socialism successfully, show the south Korean people the happy life of

the people in the northern half and conduct tireless educational work to awaken them, all the south Korean people will come over to our side. Then the Yankees will find no way out, and the question of the revolution in the southern half will be solved once and for all.

The Chinese people, too, had long suffered from scrambles for power among the warlords. Wu Fei-fu, Chang Tso-lin, Feng Yu-hsiang and many other warlords assumed power and were ousted one after another. This was repeated over and over again, and in the process the people came to open their eyes, followed the Chinese Communist Party to expel Chiang Kai-shek and, in the long run, accomplished the revolution.

Subjective desire alone is not enough to carry out the revolution. Victory in the revolution presupposes the maturity of all objective conditions. For the triumph of the revolution in the southern half it is necessary to further strengthen the revolutionary forces in the northern half, and it is especially important to awaken the people in the south. As the young people of the south rose up and beat down Syngman Rhee, so must all the south Korean people rise against U S. imperialism.

If we conduct proper work also with the puppet soldiers in the southern half, it is possible to win them over to the fold of the people, to the fold of the revolution. The puppet army officers may be sons of landlords and capitalists but the rank and file are all sons and daughters of workers and peasants If they are awakened to class consciousness, they may level their guns at the American scoundrels.

We must continue to intensify work with the enemy troops It is no secret that a revolutionary army does political work among the enemy troops Once the army turns to the side of the revolution, the ruling classes are ruined inevitably Therefore, it is very important to work with the enemy troops, aiming to bring the puppet army to the side of the people

It seems that you have not yet fully understood that the revolution in the southern half requires the awakening of the south Korean people and, chiefly, their struggle. It is, of course, no easy job to educate the enemy troops to come over to our

side. This should be done strenuously under a detailed plan for a prolonged period. You must not give up after a few unsuccessful attempts.

Preparations are necessary to make revolution. From now on you should untiringly conduct work with the "ROK army" and make ample preparations. Such preparations may seem insignificant right now, but they will become a big asset as they accumulate.

The revolution in the southern half is also related in a large measure to the international situation. A struggle against the U.S. scoundrels should take place everywhere in the world, driving them into blind alleys. First of all, the Asian peoples must all unite and drive the Yankees out of Asia. U.S. imperialism is being isolated from the people more and more, and the day of its defeat is drawing near.

Today the general international situation is favourable to our revolution. In the international arena the forces of socialism are much stronger than the forces of imperialism. Further, the national-liberation movement in the colonies is rising steadily. Contradictions are being further aggravated within the imperialist camp. France is opposed to the United States and a deep-going antagonism is also being created between Britain and France. The situation is disadvantageous for the imperialists while it is advantageous for us.

The same is true regarding the situation in south Korea. Today the U.S. imperialists occupying south Korea and their lackeys, the military fascist clique, have reached a dead end. The military rulers are disunited among themselves, at loggerheads with one another, and even groups of the former Democratic Party and Liberal Party have come out against Pak Jung Hi.

All this tells us that there are conditions for the south Korean revolution to continue to develop in the future.

We should prepare ourselves well; but not because of a situation unfavourable for us or a great danger of war. When our Party adopted the resolution on increasing our defensive might it aimed at arming the entire people and turning the

whole country into a fortress and thus preventing the enemies from venturing to provoke us. We strengthen the defensive power of the country not so much to cope with a war that might be launched by the enemy as to make good preparations for coming to the aid of the south Korean revolution when required by the growth of the revolutionary forces in south Korea and the intensification of the people's struggle, and to prevent the enemy's daring to set off a war.

Enemies always look for a weak point, and once they spot it, they attack. It is in the nature of imperialism to attack the weak. If we doze off without vigilance or loaf about all the time, the enemy may raid us. Therefore, we must increase our defence capabilities, be alert, mobilized and always in full combat readiness.

The Yankees hate Cuba like a thorn in their flesh and Kennedy, the rascal, is still looking for a chance to invade Cuba. But the Cuban people led by Premier Fidel Castro have resolved to fight to the last man and have categorically rejected on-the-spot inspection by the Yankees.

Today Cuba has a large number of militiamen besides the regular army. Because Cuba had been a colony of the United States, she must know the Yankees better and harbour a deeper hatred for them. We saw at the time of the recent crisis how the whole people rose up, shouldering rifles with a determination to fight. The saleswomen wore revolvers while at work, and the factory workers all carried automatic rifles, ready to fight the enemy at any moment. When everyone is thus mobilized, even the Yankees are impotent. So they failed to invade Cuba after all.

The most essential thing is unity. There is nothing to fear so long as the whole Party and the entire people are united.

Needless to say, Cuba finds herself in a far more difficult situation than we are. She is just a short way from the enemy but far away from the socialist camp. Nevertheless, thanks to the heroic struggle of the Cuban people, Cuba will be there to stay. As was announced by our Party, the Cuban people, under the leadership of Comrade Fidel Castro, started the armed

with seven rifles when the Yankees had atomic bombs; lly overthrew the U.S. puppet regime by their own ef- ringing about the triumph of the revolution. If only ban people remain knitted closely together, they will ue to safeguard their revolution.

is really wonderful that Cuba has accomplished the so- t revolution under the very nose of the United States and held out already for four years. In the past, when the nish revolution occurred the Soviet Union and many other untries dispatched volunteers, but it was frustrated by the scists in the end. Now things are not as they used to be. It obvious now that revolution can be won anywhere if people ight in unity. The Latin-American peoples are valiantly rising in the revolutionary struggle, following the example of Cuba. Guerrilla warfare is being waged vigorously in Venezuela, for instance. In the future more people will rise against imperialism in all parts of the world.

The present situation is very favourable for revolution. My only and greatest worry is lest you should slacken your vigilance and get weary, since you have been confronted with the enemy for a long time. Because of the protracted armistice in our country you might tend to feel weary. You must guard against this. It is also necessary to prevent the penetration of revisionism. Revisionism undermines our unity and dampens the fighting spirit of the people.

The enemy will not dare attack us if we are all united ideologically and keep ourselves in hair-trigger readiness for action. We must never relax; we must prepare to assist the south Korean people in their struggle.

Our people have attained great successes both in increasing the nation's defence potential and in building socialism. Today our front lines and rear have been consolidated and the morale of the people is very high. We can say with confidence that we have laid firm foundations on which to achieve a greater victory.

Making an inspection tour of the front line areas on th 15th anniversary of the founding of the Peopl

Army, I have been very much gratified to see what you have done. I will report to the Party Central Committee that men and officers of our People's Army in the front line areas are in high spirits and that all are reliably guarding the defence line of the fatherland. I wish you ever greater successes in your work. We will continue to win victory, as in the past.

THE DUTY OF SCIENTISTS AND TECHNICIANS IN THE CARRYING OUT OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Speech at a Conference of Scientists and Technicians
March 22, 1963

Comrades,

We are holding a scientists' and technicians' conference after an interval of eleven years.

The decade that elapsed between the first conference of scientists and this conference has witnessed an amazing growth in the ranks of our scientists and technicians. We had only a few dozen national technical cadres immediately after liberation. When we held the conference of scientists in 1952, the number of scientific and technical workers was no more than several hundred. Today, after a period of ten years, engineers and specialists alone number 60,000 and if we add junior specialists, the number of scientists and technicians totals as many as 180,000.

Not only have the ranks of scientific and technical cadres increased greatly, but a great achievement has been made in the development of science and technology as well. In this ten-year period, our nation's economy has progressed significantly. We carried out the Three-Year Plan on the ruins of the war and fulfilled the Five-Year Plan; now we are successfully carrying on the Seven-Year Plan to attain the country's industrialization and technical revolution. Our scientists and technicians

have grown markedly in the course of this great struggle for construction.

The biggest success our people has achieved in socialist construction is that we have learned how to design, build and run factories on our own. This brilliant success is associated with the devoted efforts of our scientists and technicians.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I am availing myself of this opportunity to express our high appreciation of your conspicuous achievements in scientific research and express warm gratitude to the scientists and technicians for having made an important contribution to the economic and cultural construction.

Comrades, our conference is now in its third day. Many of you have discussed the work to be done afterwards and have advanced valuable suggestions here. This conference of scientists and technicians we are holding today one year and a half after the Fourth Party Congress seems somewhat late. The delay, however, was not a bad thing. In this time, we have tested many things and have accumulated various experiences while implementing the tasks set forth by the Fourth Party Congress. In many fields, we have gotten a clear idea of whether or not the tasks given to the scientists and technicians at the Party Congress were quite feasible; we have a better idea of our strong points and our defects. I think it is more advantageous for us to have this conference now, to sum up all those things and discuss our tasks, after having accumulated some experiences and familiarized ourselves adequately with our strengths and shortcomings.

To begin with, I would like to remind you of the tasks set by the Fourth Party Congress for scientists and technicians. The Party Congress entrusted them with the tasks of making great efforts for solving urgent scientific and technological problems which have arisen in the practical work of socialist construction, and bringing our country's science to the international level in the near future by assimilating scientific achievements attained by advanced mankind. It also charged our scientists to take an active part in carrying out the technical revolution, do

their best to mechanize all branches of the national economy including agriculture, to introduce comprehensive mechanization and automation in some branches of the economy, and firmly establish an independent industrial system based on the natural resources of our country. In a word, these are the tasks of industrializing the country.

The Party has set forth the task of bringing about industrialization in the Seven-Year Plan period. We have been carrying it out for three consecutive years now. In this period we have made great successes in economic and cultural construction and in the advancement of science and technology.

But, when we take a sober look at what we have done so far, we have to admit that our science and technology have not yet grown in depth and scope just as our industry is still inadequately equipped in various aspects. In many areas our science and technology are incomplete, lopsided and fragmented.

In particular, mechanical engineering in our country is at a low level, so that we are faced with many difficulties in carrying out research and introducing its results into production. Our machine-building industry fails to provide us with necessary machines and equipment as it should. Because of its short history and lack of experience, our machine-building industry has only a small number of designers and they have inferior qualifications. Moreover, our metallurgical industry fails to supply a sufficient quantity of different kinds of structural steel, especially such materials as alloy steel and light metals, needed in the machine-building industry.

These are the defects and shortcomings we have seen and the difficulties we have encountered in the course of carrying out the technical revolution, of implementing the tasks set by the Fourth Party Congress for science. In the last analysis, these are the defects mentioned in your speeches. These are defects that we cannot completely avoid in our rapid advance.

We have many weaknesses and a lot of work to do in the future. We have no reason whatsoever to be complacent with

the results already achieved. We have only just laid the foundation now.

As you all know, it took Britain three hundred years to realize her industrialization, and it is almost a century since Japan began to build modern industry.

And how long is our history of industrial construction? It is only ten years, beginning with the year of the ceasefire, and no more than 17 years if we figure from the year of liberation. In this period we rehabilitated the economy from the debris of the war, laid the foundations of industrialization and built up the ranks of scientific and technical workers fully capable of managing all the factories and enterprises on their own. This is a notable accomplishment.

A period of ten years, however, is too short a time to industrialize a country, particularly an extremely backward country like ours. How is it conceivable that the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from our past can be completely eliminated, that scientists and technicians can acquire wide and deep knowledge and accumulate a wealth of experience in such a short period? Moreover, it is obvious that the industry we built in this brief span of time is unable to meet all the demands of the scientific and technical workers

Our economic foundation is not yet realizing its full potential. The experience we have accumulated in the field of science and technology is not rich enough and the knowledge of our scientific and technical workers is not comprehensive and profound. All this proves that we have no grounds whatsoever for becoming self-complacent. We must continue our persistent study with a modest, sincere attitude. To brag that we can do anything once we decide to now that the foundations of industrialization have been laid and a large number of scientists and technicians have been trained, and to make banner headlines about a tiny success without even thoroughly testing it—all this shows an immodest attitude.

We should realize that a lot of work still has to be done if our science and technology are to fully meet the requirements of industrialization and, furthermore, that a consider-

able time is still needed if they are to reach an international level. We should train more scientific and technical cadres and, on your part, you should strive to acquire more comprehensive and more profound knowledge.

Our scientists and technicians also lack the sense of responsibility and indomitable will befitting to a revolutionary. In research, many comrades do as they like or concentrate on problems of secondary importance, rather than apply themselves mainly to the solution of urgent problems in socialist construction. Some also show an irresponsible and weak attitude of leaving their study projects half-finished and of dabbling in this or that subject, without surmounting the difficulties in their research. Scientific and technical workers should correct such a wrong attitude, take a responsible attitude towards the Party and the state and acquire the revolutionary quality of overcoming any difficulty.

In order to develop scientific research the State Planning Commission and the economic ministries must provide scientists with every possible condition for their work. In this respect, too, many defects have been revealed so far. We don't deny that many circumstances prevent us from furnishing scientists with all the necessary conditions. But this is not the point. The question is that some of our economic personnel have such a short-sighted view that they only pay attention to immediate production without giving any thought to the long-range national plan. We have failed to provide our scientists with even those conditions that are well within our reach.

We did not guarantee them research facilities that were readily available. Let me cite an example. As far back as right after the armistice, we decided to build a science library in Pyongyang and even arranged to buy tens of thousands of books. The bulk of the books we ordered arrived long ago. But, to this day, the library has not been built. Although we press for its construction each year, it has been put off on this or that pretext. The fault does not lie with the State Planning Commission which includes the project in its plan every year. Rather, it is the city of Pyongyang that leaves it out every time

claiming that there is a strain on construction. This case alone proves that our economic personnel pay very little attention to scientific research work.

In addition, the financial institutions are not concerned with getting foreign books for scientific workers. Technical books in themselves contain neither capitalist nor revisionist ideas. There is no reason to fear foreign technical literature. We should gather as much information as we need from all countries of the world. Because we fail to ensure the necessary material conditions for research, scientific workers waste their time on insignificant questions, unable to put their energies into research. This situation must be rectified.

Even pilot plants are not properly built for them. It is a matter of common sense that the results of scientific research should be introduced into production after they are fully tested at a pilot plant. It is an intolerable adventure to introduce research results directly into production, skipping over this step. Accompanied by the department directors of the Party Central Committee, I gave guidance to the work of the Nampo City Party Committee sometime ago. Possibly the chief engineer of the Nampo Smeltery is present at this meeting. This smeltery stopped in the middle of building many new workshops and facilities such as a sulphur workshop, a zinc ore yard, a roasting oven and a rolling workshop—as many as five in all. This stoppage wasted large quantities of materials and manpower. These many projects were abandoned in the middle of construction mainly because the smeltery tried to introduce things into production which had not been fully solved technically, although the problem was also due to the incorrect assignment of projects. If pilot plants had been built and all the technical problems solved completely through adequate experimentation before being introduced into production, there would not have been such waste. The economic personnel, however, take such a huge national loss for granted while stingily begrudging money for the construction of a pilot plant.

Economic personnel should not only be concerned with immediate production. They should look far into the future and

allocate money to the construction of pilot pla
ay conditions should be provided for scientific work-
ully confirm the results of their research and perfect
rough pilot plants.

xt, we must improve the guidance we give to research
ntific fields. Many defects are presently manifested in the
ization and direction of the research work of scientific
ers. Neither the Academy of Sciences nor the State Com-
ion of Science and Technology properly guide scientific
earch. Their first defect in guidance is to have dispersed the
ces on too many problems instead of concentrating on the
lution of the most urgent questions in industrialization and
echnical revolution in accordance with the Party's policy. Ef-
orts were not directed to key problems, whose solution would
have helped resolve other problems. Scientists also wrongly tend to concentrate on subjects which will not be applied for a long time, or they get immersed in problems which have already been solved by others. It is necessary, of course, to study problems which have already been solved theoretically and technically in order to apply them to suit the actual conditions of our country. We are not opposed to such research.

Those who organize and direct scientific research should thoroughly implement the Party's policy, which directs science's efforts to the solution of practical problems in socialist construction.

The second defect related to guiding scientific research is that ministries have organized the work in a departmentalist way. Every ministry maintains its own research institute and laboratory, instead of allocating forces rationally so that the small number of inexperienced scientific and technical cadres we have now may co-operate with each other in their research. Ministers do not regard the research institutions under the Academy of Sciences and other ministries as theirs and feel comfortable only when their ministries have one of their own. Accordingly, many similar research institutions exist and ther are many cases where the same subjects are studied separatel in different places. For instance, in television research alo

the forces are dispersed in a number of places such as the Ministry of Communications, the Broadcasting Commission and the Ministry of Machine-building Industry. Because scientific research forces are scattered about in this way, no one problem can be adequately solved. We must centralize the dispersed scientific research forces if we are to put an end to this wrong practice. Moreover, a perspective plan should be made for scientific research in keeping with the development of the national economy, and the scientific research forces should be concentrated to solve the practical problems arising in economic construction. This will enable us to do a great deal of work even with our present research forces.

Next, we must intensify the education of scientists in the Party policies. This meeting has shown unequivocally that the education of scientists and technicians in the Party policies has been poorly conducted. The Party's policy is a yardstick for the correct solution of all matters. Without understanding it, one cannot properly resolve even a single problem. You are all absorbed in research and have read extensively. But if you are not acquainted with the Party's policy, you cannot clearly understand if the subject you are studying is urgently required by the Party; nor can you correctly judge the main problem to be solved decisively today Good-quality farm machines have not yet been made either because the scientists and technicians are unclear about the Party's policy or because they do not try hard enough to carry it through in their research. If you had had a clear understanding of our Party's policy on the technical revolution in the countryside, you would have been fully able to make good-quality farm machinery that suited the conditions of our country. Scientists and technicians ought to devote all their knowledge and talents to the Party and the people. To become scientists of the people, technicians of the people, you must study the Party policies deeply, master them completely and always work in the right direction according to these standards.

Now, let me tell you about some problems concerning the technical revolution. As you all know, the Fourth Congress of

put forth as the most important task the carrying o[ut]
[ov]erall technical revolution in all branches of the na-
[e]conomy and the industrialization of the country.

[If] capitalism had developed normally in our country be-
[t]echnology would have been developed and, accordingly,
[ta]sk of the technical revolution would not be raised today
[a]n important problem in socialist construction. In those
[coun]tries which have gone through the normal stage of capital-
[ism] and have a highly advanced technology, socialism and com-
[mu]nism can be built without a technical revolution merely by
[tu]rning the means of production owned by the capitalists into
[th]e property of the people by means of socialist revolution.

When the industrial revolution was going on and technolo-
[g]y was developing rapidly in the capitalist countries, our coun-
try long remained quite a stagnant, backward agrarian state
subject to feudal rule and the colonial domination of Japanese
imperialism. That is why our country must carry out a techni-
cal revolution in the course of the construction of socialism.

Our Party put forward the task of an overall technical rev-
olution after carrying out the democratic revolution and the
socialist revolution in the northern half of our country. Thus,
we are in a position to push ahead with the technical revolu-
tion more rapidly, relying on the superiority of the socialist
system.

True, our country was formerly backward and stagnating
and it is carrying out its technical revolution now, later than
the advanced countries. Then, is it impossible for us to catch up
with industry in the developed capitalist countries? Certainly
not. We can do in a matter of decades what capitalist countries
have taken centuries to do. We are fully capable of overtaking
and outstripping them because our socialist system is incom-
parably superior to the capitalist one and opens up broad pros-
pects for rapid economic and technological development. This
is clear merely by comparing the northern half of the Republic
with south Korea.

The national economy develops at a very rapid pace in th[e]
northern half of the Republic where the means of productio[n]

have been turned into the property of the people, and where the socialist system, free from exploitation and oppression, has been established.

On the contrary, the economy cannot develop rapidly in south Korea which is not only backward from the first but is also treading the road of capitalism. In today's south Korea the existing factories have gone bankrupt, the rural economy has continued to decline, unemployment has increased and the people's living conditions have gone from bad to worse. The south Korean people have been struggling to break out of this plight.

As a result, the Syngman Rhee regime was overthrown and the Syngman "Chang" regime collapsed. Syngman "Pak" was the next to come to power; judging from the present situation, the day is not far off when he, too, will meet his downfall. Ho Jong and the like may rise to power tomorrow. But regardless of the ruler that appears, things will never change as long as U.S. imperialist colonial rule continues to exist.

Japan, for instance, has nearly a one hundred-year history of industrialization. However, if we do not become complacent with the successes already achieved and make mistakes and if we maintain the present rate of development, we will be able to catch up with and outstrip Japan technologically not in a hundred years, but in 15 to 20 years. Therefore, it is most important to keep up our country's high tempo of economic development by taking advantage of the superiority of the socialist system.

We can keep up the Chollima pace if, on the basis of this superiority, we ensure the planned and proportionate development of our national economy, the proper balance between accumulation and consumption and the correct equilibrium between industry and agriculture We can maintain this speed if we do not rest content but continue learning and studying to effect the rapid development of science and technology.

We have already permanently eradicated the sources of exploitation and poverty by reorganizing the relations of production along socialist lines. This alone, however, is not enough. What we need now is a technical transformation so that people

can work easily and earn a lot while living a plentiful life. We cannot advance further without a technical revolution.

As you all know, we are saddled at present with a manpower problem in all fields of the national economy. When we desire to develop more mines, we find ourselves short of manpower; when we set out to reclaim more land and catch more fish, we need the men. Without a technical revolution in all spheres of the national economy, we cannot ease the strain on manpower, increase production, and thus, further raise the people's standard of living.

What is the slogan our Party has put forward to raise the people's living standard today? To provide all the people with a full life, that is, supply them with rice and meat, dress them in attractive clothes and warm overcoats in winter and build more houses for them. To this end, industrial and agricultural production should be radically increased. Only when production grows will the national income increase and the people's living conditions improve. That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party put forward the task of increasing the total value of industrial output about 3.2 times during the period of the Seven-Year Plan.

There are two ways of increasing the total value of industrial output; one is to increase the number of workers; the other is to raise labour productivity by carrying out the technical revolution. Concerning this problem, the circumstances of our country will never allow us to raise the output value by increasing the number of workers. We have an acute labour shortage at present, and the manpower needed for expanded production cannot be satisfactorily guaranteed with the present rate of population growth. Moreover, the growth of population means increased consumption, and the increment of workers alone gets us nowhere. Our only solution lies in mechanizing and automating the existing factories and enterprises to augment the value of per-employee output and in using the labour force thus freed for the expansion of production in other branches.

Right now we have many things to do but cannot do be-

cause of the inadequate supply of labour. It is necessary, therefore, to carry on the technical revolution. With the work force released by it, we should prospect for mineral resources abundant in our country, develop more coal and ore mines and build more new factories. The fishing industry should also be developed so as to increase our catch, and in the rural economy, more land should be reclaimed and per-*chongbo* crop yields markedly boosted.

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party directed a Red Letter to its entire membership calling upon them to save manpower in the enterprises and send the freed labour force to the countryside. During my guidance work to the Nampo City Party Committee a while back, I discussed with technicians at the Nampo Smeltery how to carry out the technical revolution rapidly and successfully and increase production while saving on labour. At that time I asked them how many workers the smeltery had sent to the countryside and whether they could fulfil their production plan even after sending them away. They answered that they had sent about five hundred, and that they could fulfil their plan creditably. I asked them then why they had those extra five hundred workers before. They said that they had kept them in order to do their work more easily.

If we are lazy, we can never carry out the task of the technical revolution set forth by the Party. We must be able to overcome many difficulties and obstacles to do it. So I proposed the following task: they should strive to raise the present per-worker value of output from 15,000 *won* to 30,000 *won* with the existing labour force by mechanizing and automating the production processes, without even using those five hundred workers. Then, the technicians held a Party meeting to discuss the matter and reached a conclusion. They attended the plenary meeting of the city Party committee and said that they would carry out the job by 1967. Of course, they have made such a hasty calculation that it may be rough. Yet, such determination is, in itself, a very good thing.

If everyone studies and tries hard to move ahead with the

task of the technical revolution advanced by the Party, we will be fully capable of carrying it out. Our country has the necessary conditions for this revolution. We have established a heavy industry base with the machine-building industry as its core and laid the firm foundations for industrialization.

The question depends on whether or not the scientists and technicians actively push themselves to fulfil the task of the technical revolution set by the Party. We have really a great deal of work ahead of us in the fields of science and technology.

Take the mechanization of agriculture to begin with. In industry, mechanization and automation are comparatively easy; but, in agriculture, mechanization is a more difficult and prolonged process. We cannot, however, for that reason, wait around without stepping up mechanization in agriculture. The peasants' intense work load cannot be lightened without a technical revolution in the rural economy. At factories workers only have to work at their lathes for eight hours; where automation has been properly introduced, they just sit pushing buttons a few times during those eight hours and then go home. However, in the countryside, peasants usually work more than 12 hours a day and during the busiest part of the farming season 14 hours. There is no slack season for our peasants. Even in winter, they have no time to rest, what with producing manure and making straw-bags. That is why young people do not like to remain in the countryside, but prefer to go to factories.

The peasantry in our country have been freed from oppression and exploitation and their standard of living has reached the level of the former middle peasants. However, we have not completely relieved them yet of hard and backbreaking labour. Today, we Communists face the lofty, the honourable task of emancipating our peasants from the arduous toil they have endured for thousands of years since the time of our ancestors.

But apparently our scientists and technicians are not concerned about the peasants' difficult work and do not consider the technical revolution in the countryside a vital question. If we go on like this, while living on the rice produced by peas-

ants, how can we look them straight in the face? We must think harder and push ahead with rural mechanization so that peasant labour and industrial labour have an equal intensity.

Furthermore, the peasants' income and living standard should also be made nearly equal to those of the workers. As you know, in order to build a communist society we must eliminate the distinctions between town and country. You should not think simply that this problem can be solved by building houses and cultural establishments in the countryside like those in town. This alone is not enough. Labour intensity, income, living standards and all other conditions should be equalized between the workers and the peasants to get rid of the differences between town and country. In order to raise the peasants' income and standard of living to those of the workers, agricultural production should be developed more intensively and, for this, the technical revolution should also be carried out in the countryside. We can go over to communism only when we develop the agricultural productive forces further, eliminate the distinctions between industrial and agricultural labour and make it possible for all the peasants to lead the same bountiful life as the workers through the technical revolution in the rural areas.

The rural technical revolution in the northern half of the Republic will also constitute a great inspirational force for the south Korean people in their struggle. In south Korea there are a considerable number of workers, but the overwhelming majority of the population are peasants. In the northern half we have already freed our peasants from exploitation and poverty, and if we accomplish the rural technical revolution to free them from difficult and arduous labour and provide all of them with a plentiful and happy life, the peasants in the southern half will support us and rise up more vigorously against U.S. imperialist colonial rule and the system of feudal exploitation.

The technical revolution should be carried out in industry as well as in the rural economy. What is important for the technical revolution in this field is to replace the existing outdated machinery and equipment with new ones, mechanize what has not been mechanized, and automate what has been

When we build new factories, we should mecha-
nate them without fail. True, industry cannot be
th agriculture, but here, too, there is still a lot of
r and much outdated machinery and equipment.
case with the centrally-controlled industries, with
n, transport, fishing and local industries—things are
ess the same in all branches.

ne cite the case of mechanization for *myongtae* gutting
ishing industry. Though our country catches about
tons of *myongtae* annually, we are not eating a lot of
nyongtae roe and guts. This is mainly because the scien-
nd technicians in the field do not think a lot about
nizing such arduous labour as gutting *myongtae*; they do
ttack the problem energetically. It is said that they have
working on a *myongtae* gutting machine for as much as
years now, but they have not yet succeeded in making any-
g worth mentioning. What is more, facilities have not been
perly provided for washing and processing *myongtae* in
nter, so that the *myongtae* processing is way behind.

At the time of Japanese imperialist rule people were forced
o gut *myongtae* and prepare and sell salted *myongtae* roe
even during the winter, shivering in the cold weather to eke
out a living because they could not get other jobs.

But things are quite different today. All the children and
young people go to school or serve in the army, and housewives
live well on their husbands' wages. Who would think of gutting
myongtae, shivering in cold winter weather? As I always say to
the State Planning Commission, no one would willingly work
at *myongtae* gutting nowadays unless we put up buildings, pro-
vide machines and equipment and install running water for the
workers so that they work comfortably sitting down indoors.

In local industry as well, we do a poor job of mechanizing
production and waste a great deal of labour. For that reason, I
called the Changsong Joint Conference last year and recom-
mended that they at least introduce semi-mechanization. This
work, however, still has not been carried out properly because
our functionaries do not fully understand the problem.

We should actively step up the technical revolution, clearly recognizing that without it we cannot further advance industry, agriculture, fishing or any other fields, nor can we solve the question of improving the people's standard of living as we now intend to.

Now I would like to mention some important problems in the technical revolution.

For the technical revolution, scientists should, among other things, direct their efforts to the deeper study and development of mechanical engineering.

As you correctly pointed out in your speeches, our country has in fact laid extensive foundations for the machine-building industry and, well used, this industry can make any machine

However, no further progress is being made because of obstacles in design work. Large machines and precision machines are not yet properly made because of crude designs and inaccurate calculations.

We took great pains to make the Chollima tractor. Since we did not even have a blueprint, we bought a tractor, took it apart, designed the pieces one by one and managed to make our own Needless to say, to produce a tractor by ourselves that way was a great success. However, we still do not know how to design different kinds of tractors that suit our agriculture. We can barely manage to imitate what others have done

At present our country has nearly 900 scientific workers in the mechanical engineering research institutes alone. Numerically speaking, this is a considerable force. But our scientists and technicians are not proficient yet in design, the science of mechanics and so on because they lack practice and profound knowledge.

As was discussed yesterday, many factories that we built on our own have defects. Of course, we speeded up the construction of factories in order to develop the economy rapidly in a short span of time. This meant that some of them were roughly thrown together. But we see defects even in those factories which were not constructed in a hurry. These shortcomings are all caused by lack of precision in our designs, sci-

mechanics, thermodynamics, etc. In other words, many s still fail to run at full capacity because of inadequate ns to mechanical engineering problems.

e same is true of coal production. We can bring about ations here as well if only we introduce comprehensive anization in our coal mines, that suits the prevailing conns. The present variations in coal production by the coles are due to the fact that they either use foreign machines uitable for the actual conditions of our mines or use manes copied from them. Consequently, productivity is very w. Since we are still unable to make machines that fit the pecific conditions of our country, we have no alternative but to use foreign machines.

However, I do not want you to think that the state of our machine-building industry and machinists is appalling. It is a major accomplishment to have laid the foundation of the machine-building industry and built up the ranks of scientists and technicians we now have in such a short period of time. It is inevitable that our capabilities should still be limited since our machine-building industry has a short history and our newly-trained technicians have not had the time to accumulate wide experience. We can easily eliminate this defect if we direct our attention from now on to improving the quality of these ranks of cadres.

If we have endeavoured to build up the ranks of scientists and technicians over the last ten years, from now on we should devote our efforts to raising their quality and strengthening their fighting capacity.

The few facts mentioned above are enough to demonstrate clearly that we must make great effort to develop mechanical engineering. If we do not, we will not be in a position either to solve the urgent technical problems that arise with the development of the national economy or to accelerate the technical revolution. Your scientific achievements in the fields of chemistry and metallurgy, moreover, cannot be applied unless mechanical engineering is developed. After all, everything depends upon machine.

The immediate, important task now confronting the machine-building industry is the vigorous modernization and automation of all branches of the national economy. The current productivity of the existing machinery and equipment in the machine-building industry will be more than doubled if forging equipment is modernized, cutting mechanized and highly efficient motors and jigs applied. We can solve many problems indeed, if only the existing machine-building factories more than double their production capacities.

A radical development of the mining industry, one of our country's urgent tasks today, can also take place only with the support of the machine-building industry.

At present, the Unryul and Chaeryong Mines are not adequately supplying iron ore to the Hwanghae Iron Works; the Musan Mine is not working at full capacity and the Ryongyang Mine also has a difficult situation. All this is due to the inadequacy of the mining equipment. If these mines are provided with 20- to 25-ton trucks and excavators with large buckets, they will be able to mine much more ore than they do now and supply it to all spheres of the national economy.

Our Party has told the machine-building industry to manufacture larger machines than those presently in production. It has been assigned the difficult task of turning out, first of all, large mining equipment and means of transport such as large excavators, bulldozers, tractors and ships.

Scientists and technicians should actively assist in performing this job. At present there are some difficult matters which the personnel under the Ministry of Machine-building Industry cannot cope with alone.

Take the testing of designs for an example. Presently there is no agency which tests the designs produced at various machine-building factories. Therefore, they are used arbitrarily without examining their usefulness. But, in fact, even if they are checked, there is no one competent enough to examine them. Ignorant people cannot test them by themselves. The Academy of Sciences should be made responsible for testing designs from here on in.

e same is true of centralizing the production of castings. comrades spoke about the problem of raising the quality tings, and their opinions were all good. And, in fact, this e of the difficult problems which faces the machine-build- industry today. Yet, the most important thing in solving problem is to centralize the production of castings. Our rty has for a long time repeatedly emphasized this point. nly by centralizing casting production is it possible to mech- nize laborious work with ease, raise the technological level of the equipment and improve the quality of the castings as well. This task, however, has not yet been fulfilled.

It is true that this problem arises because of the lack of responsibility on the part of the personnel in the institutions concerned, including the Ministry of Machine-building Industry. But the cause also seems to lie in the failure to solve various technical and economic problems. Scientists should render active assistance in solving these problems.

While endeavouring to carry out these immediate tasks, we should strive to develop mechanical engineering continuously and anticipate the training of the designers well in advance in order to develop our country's economy in a planned way.

The Academy of Sciences should devote major efforts to the development of mechanical engineering, the most important problem to be solved in the technical revolution, instead of dispersing its research. We should concentrate the scientists and technicians in mechanical engineering by consolidating the research institutions in this field which are now scattered in all areas of the national economy. Moreover, the relevant state organizations should adequately equip mechanical engineering research laboratories and provide all necessary conditions fo the work. To begin with, the Ministry of Machine-building I dustry should construct a well-equipped pilot machine-bui ing factory for the research work of the Academy of Scien We will get nowhere by merely talking and leafing thro books in the office. Only by building up a good pilot tory and carrying on positive experiments is it possi bstantial results.

Another important task for further progress of our national economy is to develop radio engineering and electronics.

Our Party has been emphasizing this matter for a long time. Yet, research work in this field so far has not been conducted very seriously.

Radio engineering and electronics are not only necessary in the fields of communications and radio and television. Foreign experience indicates the extensive application of electronics to fields such as the metallurgical, chemical, machine-building and power industries as well In particular, it is impossible to control or develop rapid and complex processes without electronic equipment.

Therefore, to avoid falling behind other countries, we must pay due attention to future development in electronics.

Sometime ago I had a talk with the workers and technicians of the Communication Equipment Factory. At that time they said that they would produce televisions by themselves this year in co-operation with the personnel of the Broadcasting Commission. Of course, it is important to make television and radio sets with imported electron tubes But what is even more important is to produce our own electron tubes and semiconductors.

Electron tube production furnishes the groundwork for the development of electronics The Cabinet and the State Planning Commission should build an electron tube factory soon, as well as a semi-conductor factory, thus providing better conditions for accelerating research in electronics.

Although mechanization is right now a prime task in our country, automation will become the priority before long. So we need to make far-sighted preparations for automation. It *is precisely electronics that is the key to the preparations for* automation Accordingly, research in electronics is inevitably an urgent task both for carrying out the technical revolution and for the future development of our national economy.

Now I would like to talk about some of the tasks for the development of heavy industry related to carrying out the technical revolution.

mportant task before the metallurgical industry is to satisfactory supply of materials needed for the techni- lution.

t year, fighting to reach the height of 1.2 million tons l, we were able to turn out large quantities of this item. here is a shortage of certain types of steel components al- h we are not using all the steel we produce. We do not e enough steel and structural steel of varied kinds and dards and, therefore, still fail to fully satisfy our needs such components.

That is why we are not only still unable to manufacture e machines we want to produce and cannot properly ensure he quality of those we do produce, but also are wasting huge quantities of structural steel.

The immediate task facing the metallurgical industry is not to increase the absolute amount of steel produced but to multiply the assortment of steel and standards of steel components so that what we produce can be effectively used.

We plan a large-scale expansion of the Kim Chaek Iron Works in the future. But, for the present, efforts should be made to expand the assortment and standards of rolled steel by reinforcing the rolling facilities of the existing metallurgical factories and to develop the production of alloy steel and light metal.

Our country has abundant supplies of elements used in alloys and has favourable conditions for the development of alloy steel production. Alloy steel is indispensable for the technical revolution. We should further diversify steel production by expanding the assortment of alloy steel, in particular, turning out large amounts of heat-resistant, acid-resistant and ferro-magnetic materials.

There is a very urgent demand for light metals along with alloy steel. The Seven-Year Plan envisages the production of 20,000 tons of aluminium. We should begin with the production of at least 10,000 tons as soon as possible. With only 10,00 tons of aluminium, we can substitute large quantities of coppe ire and make many light machines.

if the machine-building factories double the present n rate of their equipment and make more large ma- nd precision machines in the future, 500,000 tons of l satisfy the needs of the machine-building industry for e being. If we only turn out approximately 1.5 million f steel, that will be enough, even if a lot of steel is used pital construction and in other fields.

t is not necessary, therefore, to expand the metallurgical ories any more right now. Capital investment should be de in rolling mills and in the production of alloy steel and nt metal.

In the chemical industry as well, scientists should pay pri- nary attention to increasing the utilization rate of the existing acilities.

The scientific workers should not disperse their forces but rather unite their efforts, first of all, to normalize production at the Vinalon Factory and the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and complete the construction of the Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Mill.

It is very important to normalize production at the Vinalon Factory because our people today demand fabrics which are warm and durable and not just cloth of good quality. I think scientific workers can bring the annual vinalon output to 20,000 tons and later, to 30,000 tons if they concentrate on steadily lowering the amount of raw material consumed per-unit prod- uct and on further improving and expanding the existing equipment.

The normalization of production at the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and at the Kilju Pulp Mill, both very important in fibre production, is an urgent task which scientists should solve at the earliest possible date. We must use all means to raise the annual artificial fibre production to the 30,000-ton level and stabilize it as soon as possible. Moreover, scientists should play an important role in completing the Sinuiju Chem- ical Fibre Mill.

Only by these methods will we be able to solve the urgen d for fibre.

While concentrating our efforts on solving the immediate fibre problem, we should do long-range research on the future production of chemical fibre through oil processing.

Another important problem facing the chemical industry is how to produce synthetic rubber.

We are now manufacturing a large number of tractors and trucks, but we cannot produce the rubber they need. We should produce at least around 10,000 tons of synthetic rubber a year as soon as we can.

The demand for rubber should thus be met both by our own production and by foreign imports. It is not safe to rely solely on imports. The Party hopes that our scientific workers will begin to produce synthetic rubber in the near future.

Another important problem in the chemical industry is to increase the production of chemical fertilizers and various kinds of agricultural chemicals.

We are now planning to continue to raise grain output, but this task cannot be carried out unless large amounts of fertilizer are produced. So the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee is going to discuss the question of increasing fertilizer production with our technicians.

It is important that technicians do their utmost to solve this problem. And it certainly can be resolved if our technical forces are properly mobilized

We should produce more chemical fertilizers for use in our countryside. This is the only way to improve land fertility and reach our goals for grain output.

In addition, we should see to it that weed killers are extensively used. In our agriculture weeding is one of the most laborious jobs and an important one which has a decisive influence on crop yields Since our country has a long, heavy rainy season, grass grows easily and the grain output drops owing to the weeds. Merely eliminating weeds by applying herbicides will bring a 15 to 20 per cent increase in grain output. Therefore, we must produce and supply agricultural chemicals in large quantities that will help to improve land fertility, control blights and harmful insects, kill weeds and so forth

we should give careful attention to economizing elec-

ly our country ranks third or fourth in the socialist per-capita power output, but it is not so in the value s industrial output. This means that we waste too much city. With a view toward eliminating such irrationality, arty Congress set forth the job of converting those in- ial branches which consume a lot of electricity into ones use little or no electric power. Our scientists should use r heads to solve this problem.

At present, however, this important task is being per- rmed in a very passive way. The cause of this would seem to e in the poor understanding that the personnel in this field ave of the importance of economizing on electric power.

First of all, you scientific workers present here should clearly understand that the bias of our industry towards those sectors using a great deal of electric power is the evil conse- quence of the predatory colonial policy of Japanese imperial- ism. Since the Japanese imperialists could not transfer our elec- tric power to the industrial centres in their country, they or- ganized a number of irrational, wasteful processes for produc- ing raw materials in an attempt to plunder the abundant pow- er resources in our country.

We have built an independent economy and intend to de- velop the machine-building industry and many other new branches of industry; so we need lots of power right now. In order to meet the rapidly increasing demand for ...r, we should build a number of new power bases and ec... electricity to the utmost. It is very important to ec... electricity by changing irrational, wasteful productic... es into ones that make little or no use of electricity. our scientists should show great concern over this pı... solve it without fail at the earliest possible date.

Now let me speak briefly about the fishing i... country, which borders on the sea on three sides, serious efforts to develop this industry. Scienti... ...other to study how to develop it. They th...

be studied only by graduates of the fisheries college. This is incorrect.

In order to develop the fishing industry, it is not enough merely to know the kinds and quantity of the fish we have and where they are abundant. To develop the fishing industry you should approach the problem from every angle, studying what kinds of fishing boats should be made in the light of our specific conditions, how to conquer the sea and how biology can help to breed and preserve fish.

The fishing industry should be rapidly developed in the future through the extensive application of scientific fishing methods by the concentrated efforts of scientists and technicians to study fishing tackle, to make plenty of apparatus for conquering the sea and to produce highly efficient shoal detectors. The fishing industry cannot go any farther by handicraft methods. Therefore, the Academy of Sciences should also allocate definite scientific forces for its development.

Lastly, I would like to mention the problems of agricultural science.

In your speeches you suggested many good ways of improving different varieties of farm crops. I agree with the great importance of such improvements. In particular, we should pay great attention to this problem and prevent wind damage.

Today our country has overcome the threat of drought with the result that crops grow well, not affected by lack of rain. But flourishing crops are considerably damaged by the typhoon that comes every August. Last year, too, the crops grew well in spite of a long dry spell; but a lot of maize and rice were damaged by a typhoon. This phenomenon repeats itself almost every year.

Decisive measures, therefore, should be taken to improve crop varieties and to minimize typhoon damage. We must produce new varieties—for example, crops that are short but large-eared and ones that are tall but can withstand the wind.

In addition, research should be done on the rational use of the hillsides which make up a large part of our land. Our

country, with a total of only 1.8 to 2 million *chongbo* of arable land, including hillsides, cannot afford to discard 300,000 to 400,000 *chongbo* of hillsides simply because they give low yields. At present such farm land is not even fertilized with manure. And no one would manure it in any case since it is all washed away by rain.

Therefore, scientists should study how to plant perennial crops on such hillsides, prevent them from being washed away and improve the soil. If we succeed in at least properly cultivating crops there for fodder, it will be a great help. We can have meat if we produce a lot of feed.

And research should promptly be undertaken to exploit reclaimed land. There are hundreds of thousands of *chongbo* of land to be reclaimed from the sea. Therefore, it is a very urgent task for us to take prompt measures for exploiting this land.

I have mentioned above several of the important problems in the development of our national economy that call for prompt solutions by our scientific and technical workers.

The central task confronting our people today is the technical revolution. Our scientists, therefore, should serve this revolution more faithfully. Scientific workers should devote all their know-how and energy to improving the existing facilities in the metallurgical and chemical industries and all other branches of the national economy, thereby increasing their utilization rate, to developing industry, agriculture and fishing rapidly and to raising the people's standard of living more quickly.

I firmly believe that following this conference our Red scientific workers of the Party will greatly contribute to the development of the national economy, the further consolidation of the foundations of the independent economy and to the raising of the people's living conditions to a higher level, by devoting themselves completely to the battle to accomplish the task set forth at the Fourth Congress of our Party and making brilliant scientific advances.

TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN RYANGGANG PROVINCE

Concluding Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Ryanggang Provincial Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

August 16, 1963

Comrades,

We have attended this plenary meeting of the Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee for three days, and have seriously discussed with you the questions of agriculture, of the timber industry and various other problems.

As you have mentioned in the report and speeches, Ryanggang Province has made great strides forward in all aspects of politics, economy, culture and people's welfare over the past few years.

During this period big factories and enterprises such as the Hyesan Paper Mill and the Hyesan Flax Mill, which were non-existent when I visited here in 1958, have sprung up, and many local industry factories have also been constructed. Besides these, the College of Agriculture and Forestry and such scientific research institutes as the Highland Agricultural Research Institute, the Flax Research Institute and the Forestry Science Research Institute have come into being, and many technical schools with different specialities have also been established.

As I have ascertained in the course of my recent visit to the foot of Mt. Paekdu-san by way of Pabal-ri, Pungsan County,

the people's living standard, too, has markedly improved with the development of the economy and culture.

Thus, it can be said that Ryanggang Province has now laid a solid foundation for further developing its economy and culture, for providing a more abundant life to its people and greatly contributing to the growth of the country's economy as well.

We are very pleased about this. I will no longer dwell on the successes you have achieved, for they have been treated at length in the report and many comrades have spoken of them in the discussion.

The crux of the matter is that you should not become complacent with the successes already registered, and that you should maintain the spirit of uninterrupted advance and continue to battle hard.

Now, I would like to comment here on some important economic tasks and Party work Ryanggang Province is confronted with.

I. ON ECONOMIC WORK

1. ON AGRICULTURE

The grain output of Ryanggang Province is negligible compared with other provinces.

Agriculture should not be underestimated in Ryanggang Province just because its grain output is small. The development of agriculture here is at present of very great political, economic and military importance for our country.

The improvement of the people's living standard in Ryanggang Province depends, above all, on the development of agriculture in this region. The farm population accounts for nearly half the total population of Ryanggang Province. There are also a large number of workers here engaged in the timber and min-

ing industries. If the province runs short of grain for its factory and office workers, it may bring it in from other provinces; but as far as food grain for its peasantry and subsidiary food for its factory and office workers are concerned, their demands should naturally be met with its own produce.

Moreover, Ryanggang Province is a glorious old revolutionary battlefield of our country. The Party organizations in Ryanggang Province are responsible for providing our people inhabiting this old revolutionary battlefield with a far better living standard than before liberation. Only when the workers and peasants here who went about in rags and suffered from hunger for so long under Japanese imperialist rule are well-clad and well-fed and enjoy a happy life today, will they say that they have really benefited by the liberation and the socialist system

Ryanggang Province has a fairly large share of the total crop area of our country. The cultivated land in our country, not counting the area under fruit cultivation, totals 1,800,000 *chongbo*. At present Ryanggang Province has 90,000 *chongbo* of farm land and, if the new land being reclaimed in Potae-*ri* is added, the figure will be in the neighbourhood of 100,000. This is by no means a small area in our country where the land under cultivation is extremely limited.

If this 100,000 *chongbo* of land is turned to good account, the province can easily attain self-sufficiency in food for its farming population and besides, will be able to create a certain food reserve in the future. At present, however, Ryanggang Province even fails to produce food enough to feed its own peasantry, let alone to create a food reserve.

And what are the reasons for the poor showing in farming and the failure to attain self-sufficiency in food in Ryanggang Province?

Some comrades allege that the reason lies in excessive planting of flax carried out under orders. This, it must be said, is an evasion of responsibility.

The main cause of poor farming in Ryanggang Province lies in the fact that the Party organizations and the functionaries in

the field of agriculture in the province do not organize and guide the rural economy properly in keeping with the peculiarities of this district. Specifically, it is because they do not make an active effort to honestly study scientific methods of farming suited to the climatic and soil conditions of the highlands and introduce those methods into agricultural production.

As is generally known, Ryanggang Province lies on the highest tableland in our country. The noted Paekmu and Kaema plateaus are both found there.

Ryanggang Province has also a number of specific climatic features. The warm air current from the south and the cold air current coming down from the direction of Mongolia meet over this region. That is why this district is usually veiled in mist and the sunny hours are very short. On top of this, the frost sets in early in the autumn and the cold is very intense. The climate is extremely varied even within the same area. It differs from valley to valley and, even in one and the same valley, the sunny side differs from the shady side.

Ryanggang Province is thus handicapped by unfavourable natural conditions for agriculture, so from olden times people have been engaged in farming mainly in the flat areas more amenable to habitation.

In the past our agronomists, too, limited their research to flat land farming and paid almost no attention to highland agriculture. Such being the case, no scientific system of farming suitable to the climatic and soil conditions of the region has been applied in Ryanggang Province.

Without studying a scientific farming system suited to the natural conditions of the highlands and introducing it in agricultural production, no advances can be expected in the farming of Ryanggang Province. Our Party, therefore, has long been emphasizing the necessity of studying and developing agriculture in the plateaus of Ryanggang Province. As early as 1954 when I gave guidance to North Hamgyong Province, I raised the problem of making a study of highland agriculture, and in 1958 I came here personally and emphasized this problem once again. At that time we proposed, as an important task for agri-

culture in Ryanggang Province, the large-scale, priority cultivation of such highly profitable, cold-resistant crops as potatoes, flax and hops and the carrying out of scientific research with a view to gradually going over to the extensive cultivation of grain crops in the future. And we also directed that an agricultural science research institute be set up in Ryanggang Province to study and develop highland agriculture.

Since then, however, the Party organizations and the functionaries in the agricultural sphere in Ryanggang Province have not conscientiously carried out the task set forth by the Party. It was not until 1961 that the proposed research institute was founded, and even after its establishment the provincial Party committee did not provide proper research conditions for the scientific workers and neglected agronomic research work. That is the reason why Ryanggang Province still does not even have a definite technical guide showing what crops to plant on the Paekmu and Kaema plateaus and how to cultivate them.

The Party organizations as well as the leading agricultural functionaries in the province seriously lack the disposition to rely fully on the scientists and technicians and co-operate with them. When they are told to rely on the masses, many functionaries readily go to the peasants and take in their farming experiences but, on the other hand, they fail in their attempt to organize and mobilize the scientific and technical personnel to the research work to acquire on the basis of those experiences scientific farming methods.

How do matters stand now in the Ryanggang Province countryside as a result of the refusal of the functionaries to draw on science and the haphazard way in which the work of the rural economy has been organized and conducted?

Although they boast a lot of their province being an old revolutionary battlefield and being situated in a strategic rear zone, the living standard of its people is not very high because it has failed to farm efficiently. Subsidiary food items are not plenty and fruits such as plums, peaches and apricots are not to be found in the market place. How come it is only the inhabitants of Ryanggang Province that lack a regular supply of fruit,

whereas people in other provinces have all planted fruit orchards for themselves and now have a variety of fruits available?

It is true, of course, that Ryanggang Province has difficulties in farming compared with other districts because most of it is tableland and its climate is cold. But no matter how adverse its natural conditions for agriculture may be, it is fully possible to reap big and stable harvest in this region, too, if the Party organizations and leading agricultural officials join efforts with the scientists in the study and active introduction of scientifically-substantiated methods of farming suitable for the region's specific conditions.

The experience of other countries refutes the idea that grain crops will not thrive on the Kaema and Paekmu plateaus of our country because of chilly weather and that it is impossible to raise domestic animals at Potae-*ri* owing to the cold. The point is that the Party organizations and the functionaries in the agricultural field are indifferent to the research for agricultural development in this district.

At present, you farm haphazardly, basing yourselves merely on the experiences of the peasants, instead of carrying on the research for the establishment of a system of scientific farming. That will not do. Doubtlessly, the peasants' experiences are, in general, valuable, but all of them cannot be said to be good. Some of them are good and some are backward. Their experiences, therefore, cannot automatically determine our agricultural policy.

It is wrong to stick to experience and ignore or cast aside science. In any case, experience serves only for information. It is incorrect to make a fetish of the peasants' experiences nor, on the other hand, is it proper to underestimate them. Drawing on their experiences, we must study new, scientific methods of farming.

First of all, the Party organizations should enlist the agricultural scientists in collecting and systematizing all the time-honoured experiences accumulated by the peasants in Ryanggang Province. What kinds of crops grow well and their pro-

duction results in such-and-such a district should be investigated and understood in every detail; meanwhile, seeds of different plants should be collected.

Agricultural experiments should be conducted extensively on the basis of the data already attained in order to discover new, scientifically-based farming methods. Definite scientific conclusions cannot be formed without carrying on ceaseless experiments. The peasants of Ryanggang Province are now reluctant to plant such grain crops as wheat and *bora* beans, clinging to their old practices. This is attributable simply to the absence of clear scientific conclusions with regard to such crops. The provincial Party committee must, therefore, actively encourage agronomists to draw up a scientifically-based technical guide to highland agriculture in the coming two or three years.

The basic line of research should deal with the extensive cultivation of cold-resistant, quick-ripening and high-yielding grain crops in the highlands

It will be necessary, first of all, to acclimatize the seeds of high-yielding crops like wheat and *bora* beans in the cold so that they can be planted in the highlands. Because there is no technical guide to the cultivation of such high-yielding crops as wheat and *bora* beans at present, the peasants of Ryanggang Province take it for granted that they should grow only oats, a low-yield grain crop We must, therefore, teach the peasants by demonstrating in practice that high-yield grain crops can be planted in Ryanggang Province, while at the same time obtaining seeds through the experimental cultivation of those crops.

Given the climatic conditions of Ryanggang Province, it is also important to obtain seeds which give us highly cold-resistant as well as quick-ripening plants. In this area, the earth thaws late in the spring and the frost sets in early in the autumn. Moreover, the rainy season begins in August, and the growing period for crops is very short. Therefore, only quick-ripening ones can yield high and stable harvests in Ryanggang Province.

We should also carry out many experiments to produce new strains by crossing different plants. In this way, we should obtain quick-ripening and high-yielding varieties.

Together with the research in grain crops, we must also carry out research in industrial crops, vegetables and fruit on a large scale.

Hops are a well-known speciality of Ryanggang Province. However, since no scientific research has been carried out in this field, hop cultivation entails an excess of labour and wastage of copper sulphate. Scientists must search for a way of producing large quantities of good-quality hops with the least possible outlay of labour and with less consumption of copper sulphate.

Techniques for growing vegetables should also be studied and popularized.

A few days ago, at an exhibition I saw "all-season radishes" produced at Kapsan and they were exceptional. They say that three crops a year of that radish can be raised in Ryanggang Province. That is magnificent! The fact that such a good crop is not audaciously introduced is a great error.

Some comrades say that the results of the celery cabbages planted in Ryanggang Province have not been encouraging because their centre part is not well formed, but I personally found them to be solid on the experimental plot. Some are even better than those in Pyongyang. If you have confidence in science and boldly carry out experiments, making the results widely known, Ryanggang Province can also become self-sufficient in vegetables.

If apples do not grow well in Ryanggang Province, there is no need to take the trouble of planting them. It is advisable, however, to plant as many fruit trees as possible of those which do grow well in this district. There is no reason why peaches cannot be grown at all, although it is possible that the fruit is smaller than those grown in plain areas. Plums and apricots can also grow quite well if they are tended with care. The grapes I saw at an experimental plot were doing fairly well. Fruit trees, therefore, should also be cultivated on a large scale

in Ryanggang Province utilizing methods based on adequate research and widely disseminating these experiences.

It is not an easy task to study the scientific methods of farming suitable to the climatic and soil conditions of such a highland zone as Ryanggang Province and actively put them into practice. Yet, it is possible to solve this problem if the Party organizations at the various levels including the provincial Party committee and the leading officials in the sphere of agriculture vigorously organize and mobilize all the agricultural scientists and technicians of the province for this project and efficiently rouse the workers on the state agricultural and livestock farms and the co-operative farmers to action.

The provincial Party committee should give leadership to the agronomists in the province with a view toward improving their method of study of highland agriculture. So long as the agronomists remain cooped up in Hyesan, turning over the pages of books with their eyes shut to the realities, as they do now, the research work cannot be properly accomplished. Therefore, the provincial Party committee should see to it that branches of the Agricultural Science Research Institute are established in many localities in order that they may carry on scientific investigations while directly working in the fields. Moreover, experimental plots should be created at different spots of Ryanggang Province including the Kaema and Paekmu plateaus, where investigation on scientific farming should be carried out on an extensive scale

The experimental plots should not be half-hearted projects where only a few plants can be sown; each crop should be allotted at least one *chongbo* of land. Only then is it possible to reach accurate conclusions on the crops under experimentation.

It is recommended that crops about which preliminary conclusions have been formed in the first year of experimentation be planted on the audacious scale of dozens or hundreds of *chongbo* of land each during the following year. I have learned that at Farm No. 5 wheat has been experimentally sown on almost 200 *chongbo* of land this year. Well done!

Research on crop cultivation should be performed on experimental plots in this way, and the experiments on livestock reeding should be carried out on the state agricultural and livestock farms. The state agricultural and livestock farms have, by comparison, more adequate domestic animal sheds than the co-operative farms, and they also have their own technical personnel, so that they can carry on research by themselves if they are given definite assignments and helped a bit by the scientists.

The agronomists carrying on research on the spot must maintain close ties with co-operative farmers and state agricultural and livestock farm workers there and combine efforts with them.

The teachers and students of the Hyesan College of Agriculture and Forestry, the higher agricultural schools and agrotechnical schools should also be actively enlisted in the work of scientific investigation. This will help the scientists and will also be of great benefit to the teachers and students. The scientists will be able to receive assistance in their research from the teachers and students, and the latter will be able to learn a lot about agronomy from the former.

The provincial Party committee should pay a great deal of attention to the training of a larger number of new scientists and technicians while, at the same time, making effective use of the scientists and technicians in the province.

First of all, the Hyesan College of Agriculture and Forestr should be expanded. The demand for the graduates of th college is very great now. If two agronomists are to sent to every co-operative farm, more than 500 would be ne ed in Ryanggang Province alone. And over 1,200 agronom would be required if one was allocated to every workt If one adds the technical cadres needed in the Party gans and the agricultural leadership agencies in the pro the Hyesan College of Agriculture and Forestry would h train at least 2,000 to 3,000 experts. The Hyesan Coll Agriculture and Forestry should also send its graduates dition to Ryanggang Province, to highland areas such a

rim County of Chagang Province, Changjin County of South Hamgyong Province and Yonsa and Musan Counties of North Hamgyong Province.

In order to train such a great number of agro-technical cadres, more faculties must be established at the Hyesan College of Agriculture and Forestry and its enrollment increased. The present agricultural courses given in the forestry faculty should be separated from it and expanded into an independent agricultural faculty, and new faculties of agricultural economics and animal husbandry established. Correspondence courses should also be expanded further so as to allow the greatest possible number of managerial personnel from the co-operative farms in the province to come and study during the winter.

It is necessary to improve the level of the existing cadres through further education, substituting the idea that cadres should be dismissed for their lack of knowledge.

Together with the expansion of the College of Agriculture and Forestry, the problem of college textbooks must be solved without fail.

I talked with professors of the college a few days ago. According to them, the college has no textbooks on agriculture for students at present. In view of the absence of scientific research data regarding highland agriculture, it is only natural that no textbooks covering this topic could be compiled. Moreover, it is impossible to teach students with foreign textbooks that do not contemplate the specific conditions of our country.

Therefore, lectures should first be given for a year based on generalized data extracted from the experiences of the peasants. In the meantime, the professors should go out to the experimental plots and carry on research work in collaboration with the scientists of the Agriculture Research Institute, and thus gather scientific material with which to give lectures the following year. If they do this for about three years, they will be fully capable of compiling agricultural textbooks based on scientific data.

), higher agricultural schools should be set up in major s. A school of this kind is badly needed in Pungsan , for example. At a higher agro-technical school in such nty, a department of animal-husbandry should also be ished in addition to the agricultural department, in order ain a large number of technicians in this field. And it d be advisable to set up a higher forestry school in such es like Samjiyon.

In this way, higher technical schools should be set up on a trict basis to train technicians for different specialities and, the case of branches that cannot be taught in a county, there hould be established an inter-exchange with other counties.

The scientists, technicians and educators that specialize in farming in the province are now very eager to study the scientific methods of farming in the highlands. The important thing is that the Party organizations and the leading functionaries responsible for agriculture improve their work with them and give them all possible aid in their research.

Party organizations and leading functionaries should maintain constant contact with scientists and call them in to give reports on how their research is progressing. They should make the scientists familiar with Party policies, visit the experimental plots with them, and help to solve opportunely difficult problems that may arise in the course of their research work. Moreover, they should meet regularly with college professors, ask how their pedagogical activities are proceeding and how the students are getting along in their studies and concern themselves with their problems.

Scientists of the Agricultural Science Research Institute and the professors of the College of Agriculture and Forestry should especially be provided with living quarters, with means of transportation and with the scientific and technological books needed to carry on research smoothly.

We should also make available to them the data of foreign scientific research on highland agriculture. The agronomica studies of Chinghai, Tibet, the Hsingan Mountains region an the lower reaches of the Sungari River in China, analogous

Ryanggang Province in regard to natural conditions, will be helpful to our scientists in their research work.

Another important thing for agriculture in Ryanggang Province is the proper location of different crops.

In this region, high above sea-level and with its specific climatic conditions, it can be said that harvest yields are totally dependent on whether or not crop areas are distributed properly. Unfortunately, there is a bad distribution of crop areas in Ryanggang Province.

The main reason for this defect is the subjectivity of the county co-operative farm management committees in matters of planning.

Now county co-operative farm management committees divide target figures mechanically and subjectively impose them upon lower units without having studied the actual state of affairs in their own counties. Take potatoes and flax as an example. Such exaggerated planting area quotas are imposed that in order to meet them those on inferior levels utilize even swamp land unfit for their cultivation. This means that the county management committees allot crop areas by the rule of thumb, with no scientific basis, simply assuming that potatoes and flax will grow well here in a cold region and that oats and panic grass will thrive there in a high and damp area. It is self-evident that as a consequence of this practice, good harvests cannot be achieved.

In fact, the county co-operative farm management committees still fail to play their role properly. The speech made by the chairman of the Samsu County Party Committee at this meeting shows how much the functionaries of the county management committees are working in this rule-of-thumb fashion. As you have all heard, the chairman of the co-operative farm at Chongrim-*ri* in Pochon County knows well what must be done, at least, in farm work, but the chairman of the Samsu County Party Committee made a speech showing ignorance of what and how things should be done. Of course, this is the fault of the chairman of the county Party committee himself. However, the fact that he has no clear idea of what to do with

to farm work in his county also shows that the Samsu Co-operative Farm Management Committee is not doing its work properly. The chairman of the county Party committee himself should know all about farm work in his county, but he cannot get anywhere alone. The county management committee should help him by making a profound study and scientific analysis of the actual conditions on the co-operative farms. As the Samsu County Co-operative Farm Management Committee fails to do its work properly, the chairman of the county Party committee knows little about the farming situation in his county and, consequently, cannot but make a pointless speech at the meeting.

By setting up the county co-operative farm management committees, we aimed to introduce industrial methods of management into the rural economy. In other words, the idea was to guide the work of agricultural production in a scientific and technical way in conformity to geographic peculiarities, avoiding the administrative methods of the past, utilized when the people's committees were in charge of directing the rural economy.

For this reason, the county co-operative farm management committees should, as a matter of course, map out scientific plans, maintain adequate balance between the two accounts, study soil fertility and the composition of fertilizers and calculate profitability in detail, taking into consideration the planting and harvesting time of different crops. If plans are made and crop areas distributed haphazardly, without any scientific and technical calculation, then why did we need to organize the management committee and its planning, manpower and technical sections? The personnel of the county co-operative farm management committees must become fully conscious of their duties and improve their scientific and technical guidance of agricultural production.

To begin with, a scientifically-based plan should be drawn up for the distribution of crops in accordance with the natural condition of each area. Those that grow well should be planted extensively following the principle formulated by the Pa

of putting the right crop in the right soil. Under all circumstances, crops which meet the needs of the state and benefit the peasants should be planted. If crops fail to meet the requirements of the state and bring no profit to the peasants, there is no use planting them widely, no matter how well they grow. Functionaries of the county co-operative farm management committees, therefore, should go to the farms and make scientific and technical studies regarding the crops that grow well and at the same time suit the needs of the state and can yield big profits to the peasants. On this basis, concrete plans should be mapped out for distribution of crop areas. Only then will it be possible to farm efficiently and increase crop yields.

I should like to stress particularly, in connection with the question of distribution of crop areas in Ryanggang Province, the need to assure the sowing of high-yield grain crops on a large scale. You must not casually plant grain crops which yield only 100 to 200 kilogrammes per *chongbo* just because you have been told to be self-sufficient in grain.

If a grain crop is planted, its yield should be at least one ton per *chongbo*. Even if one ton of grain is turned out from each *chongbo* of our country's farm land totalling 1.8 million *chongbo*, the gross output will be no more than 1.8 million tons. This amount will not even allow our people to eat gruel regularly.

In Ryanggang Province, just as in the country as a whole, the yield from one *chongbo* should be sufficient to feed at least five persons. To achieve this, each *chongbo* should turn out two tons of grain. Considering that provisions for the factory and office workers are brought in from other provinces, it requires at least one ton of grain output per *chongbo* here to feed only half the population of the province.

However, you seem to be satisfied with an output of 200 to 300 kilogrammes per *chongbo* and have not taken measures to assure greater production or to carry out research work. This will not do. Grain does not just drop out of the clouds, nor does it spring up from the ground by itself. Increased grain production requires both investigation and effort. Only by taking

h will it be possible to produce enough food for the

oday our Party and all its members are the head of our ry's household. Therefore, the responsibility for guaran- g food for the people rests upon our Party and all its nbers.

Party workers must realize this clearly and have a sense of ponsibility. Thus, they should plant on a large scale high- eld crops suitable for the geographical features of the prov- nce and strive with persistence to turn out more than one ton per *chongbo*.

In Ryanggang Province, cold-resistant and early-ripening crops should be planted in the areas high above sea level and grain crops as much as possible in the lower areas.

Primarily, flax, potatoes, *bora* beans, wheat and barley should be cultivated on a large scale in the high areas. Flax should always be grown in a big way, even if it has to be rotat- ed every three or four years. It is more profitable to the state to cultivate flax than oats or panic grass whose per-*chongbo* output is less than 200 kilogrammes, while planting more grain crops in areas where the yield is upwards of two tons per *chongbo*.

Even when the flax harvest declines, the rate of decline runs between 100 and 200 kilogrammes per *chongbo*. There- fore, it is advisable to plant 15,000 or 20,000 *chongbo* of flax. If flax is produced in large quantities, it can be exchanged for corn meal to be used for human consumption.

In Ryanggang Province, the plan is to sow oats on a broad scale as a grain crop, but this is unnecessary. As you have dis- covered from experience, the yield of oats is very low. Even when the per-*chongbo* output of oats is 600 kilogrammes, it is reduced to half that when husked. In fact, boiled oats are no even pleasing to the taste. We ate it in the days of the guerril struggle, but it is inferior to maize gruel.

It is preferable to plant crops other than low-yield, tas less oats. This does not mean, however, that oats should no sown at all. Oats should be grown for the time being in vie

the fact that scientific research and experiments have not yet been adequately carried out on which crops grow best in the highlands. Wheat or barley should be planted there in place of oats in the next year or two once scientific conclusions are drawn from the experiments.

Wheat gives a higher yield and is more palatable than oats. And where oats grow, wheat must grow. Securing seed suitable for the climatic and soil conditions of this district is an imperative for a big wheat crop.

In Ryanggang Province, potatoes, which grow well in the highlands, should be cultivated yearly in great quantities. But potatoes must not be planted without considering the consequences. I once said that the potato was king of the dry-field crops. For that reason, Ryanggang Province grows it even in rice paddies and maize fields This should not be done. You should not plant potatoes in areas where rice and maize grow well. The potato is king of dry-field crops in the highlands where grain does not grow well.

It would do well to plant *bora* beans, too, on a trial basis. As yet no research has been made on this crop, so during the first year it should not be planted widely, but rather on some 3,000 *chongbo* and on an experimental basis. If its per-*chongbo* yield is upwards of one ton, it should be planted on a wide scale beginning next year. If *bora* beans are planted on a large scale their stems can be put to good use. According to analysis, dried stems contain six per cent protein and fresh ones as much as 12 per cent. Therefore, they can be used as good livestock fodder.

The area sown to hops should not exceed 1,000 *chongbo*, because their cultivation requires a large amount of manpower. But neither should it be less than 1,000 *chongbo*

Hemp and mustard should also be cultivated on a wide scale. Just the seed from hemp amounts to 600 kilogrammes per *chongbo*. This is a very good crop since oil is pressed from the seeds and fibre is obtained from the stems.

Such high-yield crops as rice and maize should be planted on a big scale in the lower areas of Ryanggang Province.

eedless to say, the principle of the right crop in the right hould be thoroughly observed in the lower zones also. Rice ies should not be developed thoughtlessly in zones unfit rice cultivation simply to expand the area of rice paddies happened at the Amnokgang Co-operative Farm. This farm ent two years turning a wide tract of dry fields into paddy-elds without making a proper analysis of the soil, and another wo years restoring them to their original state. The upshot of all this was that no crop was properly raised for four years. As you see, the loss was enormous.

However, it is a good idea to prepare more paddyfields in the areas where rice does grow well. In the same way, more paddyfields should be prepared wherever rice grows well in Kapsan and Samsu Counties. If rice fields are prepared, we can supply as many water-lifting pumps as necessary.

Along with rice and maize, wheat and barley should be widely planted in the lower areas. Beans should likewise be raised on a bigger scale, and great efforts should be made to improve the seeds and turn out over one ton of beans per *chongbo*.

A large area of big mustard should also be planted in Ryanggang Province. Its leaves are eaten as a side-dish, and oil and mustard can be produced from its seeds. Even if you get only 600 kilogrammes of its seeds from one *chongbo*, this is still a better crop than rape. The wide cultivation of big mustard at co-operative farms after further study of cultivation methods will contribute greatly to the living standard of the people in this district.

Another point is that the seed selection should be done well.

Good farming is impossible without proper seed selectio Experience shows that good seed obtained through proper sele tion can bring a 20 to 30 per cent increase in the harvest.

At present, however, seed selection is carried out poo and the preservation and care of seeds is also neglecte Ryanggang Province.

As is the case with all areas, and Ryanggang Provinc

particular, it will not do to sow any seed that comes to hand. There is no instance in the plains of a complete crop failure due to the use of somewhat inferior seed even though it may cause some decrease in the harvest. But in Ryanggang Province, a highland area, if seeds are even slightly inferior, crop failure will be complete because the plants will not ripen. Therefore, seeds suitable for this area should be kept in store under all circumstances even if it means that food has to be brought in from other provinces in case of shortages. Only then will you conduct farming on a predictable basis.

In the future, a system of seed selection should be thoroughly established in Ryanggang Province. Each co-operative farm should set up its own seed plot separately and conduct the work of seed selection on a large scale with the help of technicians. And a strict system of preservation and care of seeds should be established, under which seeds are sterilized, stored in a definite place and distributed in a timely way.

The provincial rural economy committee should take concrete steps to implement these measures with the assistance of the Agricultural Commission and the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee

Agricultural mechanization in Ryanggang Province should also be energetically pushed forward.

Ryanggang Province has more land under cultivation for each peasant household than other provinces. In Pungsan County, for instance, there is an average of 3 5 to 4 *chongbo* of cultivated land to each peasant household. So supposing that each household has two work hands, it amounts to 1.7 to 2 *chongbo* per work hand. This is quite a large area of land For this reason, seeds are not planted in time and autumn harvesting falls behind for lack of manpower in Ryanggang Province. This affects the crop yields decisively.

In order to ease the labour strain, it is necessary above all to mechanize all farm work.

It is said that in Ryanggang Province mechanization can be introduced on 30,000 out of 90,000 *chongbo* of cultivated land. When mechanization is applied fully to just this area

the problem of one-third of the farm land will be set-

When the already mechanized area of land under direct management is added to this 30,000 *chongbo*, the total under mechanization will reach 40,000 *chongbo*.

When this is accomplished, the rest of the ploughed land n fully be coped with by the rural labour force, and such rm work as sowing and harvesting can also be done op-ortunely. Moreover, if factory and office workers and students n the province are mobilized and render some assistance in sowing and harvesting, the manpower shortage as in other provinces will cease to be a big problem.

However, you do not turn your attention to mechanizing agriculture. Some comrades even regard mechanization as a nuisance, in their failure to eliminate methodless farming habits traditional in the mountain areas in the past.

No doubt, many complex problems will crop up in mechanizing agriculture in Ryanggang Province. It will require a mastery of techniques, the construction of machines suitable for the specific conditions of this region, the adjustment of plots and the construction of new roads. But we can no longer continue to farm with manual labour alone.

The disposition to farm casually without mechanization is a manifestation of obsolete ideas. Unless a struggle is waged against these manifestations, it will be impossible to introduce farm mechanization in Ryanggang Province. You must clearly realize that the work of mechanizing agriculture involves an ideological struggle, and try to expand the area of land under mechanized farming to the maximum by employing every available means.

It must be seen to it that crops difficult to cultivate b machines are planted in the fields where the immediate i troduction of mechanization is hard while crops easy to mec anize are planted in the fields where mechanization can introduced easily.

At present you grow flax in flat lands utilizing primi methods. This being so it would be better to plant flax in where mechanization would be difficult while planting a

imum of easily mechanized crop in the flat lands. Of course, I do not mean to say that flax cultivation should not be mechanized. In the future, suitable machines for flax should also be made and as a result, its cultivation mechanized.

Potato cultivation should also be mechanized. This is possible without the need for new invention or a special study since there are already foreign experiences. All that is required is to study the potato planters and harvesters that have already been built and copy them.

With a little more study and effort, it would be quite possible to cultivate such crops as wheat, barley and oats by machine.

Even if we began to mechanize agriculture in Ryanggang Province, we could not mechanize all farm chores at once. However, if just ploughing, weeding and harvesting are mechanized while sowing remains a manual chore, farming will have become much easier than it is now, and it will be possible to do all farm work in time.

In order to carry out mechanization, the state should supply a large number of tractors and other kinds of farm machines suitable for work under the geographical conditions of this region. Ryanggang Province has 500 tractors at present and has asked for only 400 more. It is well within our power to provide them. Tractor repair centres should also be properly established so that repairs can be managed within the province itself. Such things as trailers should be manufactured and supplied by other districts.

However, the trailers used for potato cultivation should be made in the province itself. Other provinces do not cultivate potatoes on a large scale and, therefore, have little concern for the type of trailer used for this purpose and are reluctant to do research on it. So, you should naturally tackle this job by yourselves.

It would be good to assign those who are carrying out investigations on the farm machines needed for cultivating crops like potatoes and flax to the Agronomical Research [illegible] The machines designed here should be manufactured at our

machinery factories for the present. Measures should be ... to manufacture them within the province itself in the ...e.

Animal-drawn machines should also be actively employed. ...anggang Province has an abundance of cattle and, therefore, ...can make wide use of animal-drawn sowers, weeders, har...esters and the like, manufacturing them in large quantities. ...arts, too, should be made in large numbers, but oxen should ...be used for hauling where carts cannot pass. If draught animals ...are widely used in this way, the problem of haulage which is ...a drag on farm work can also be solved considerably.

An important thing in transport is to increase the efficient utilization of trucks. If trucks are used more efficiently on the basis of a correct annual transport plan and proper organizational work, the existing trucks will be sufficient to cope with the task of hauling. But if the number of trucks in the service of agriculture in the province really turn out, upon more detailed investigation, to be insufficient, more of them should be sup...plied.

The work of land conservation and land improveme... should be conducted properly.

Although it is said that Ryanggang Province has a large land area, actually it does not have a very big area of low lands fertile enough to even cultivate a limited amount of maize. Therefore, it is particularly important here to carefully conserve and fully utilize the land in the lower areas.

Since you do not carry on land conservation properly, what little fertile land there is in the lower areas is washed away by water here and there. There were many good lands in the en...virons of the Pungsan County seat, but most of them wer... washed away by the floods last year. In Kapsan County, too, ... large area of fertile land was completely lost. If you contin... like this neglecting conservation, all the fertile land will be l... and, in the end, only poor land will remain in Ryangg... Province.

It is necessary for Ryanggang Province to follow the ...mples of Changsong and Pukchong Counties. When the ...

man of the Changsong County Party Committee was assigned to work there, I gave him, as his primary task, the careful conservation of the good land in the lower areas of the county to prevent even an inch of land from being washed away by floods, since the county has very little fertile land. Upon his arrival in the county, he set about building an embankment, getting up at five o'clock in the morning and personally carrying stones in a *chige* on his back. With the county Party committee chairman taking the initiative in this way, even the hospital nurses, to say nothing of the county Party committee functionaries, began to turn out to help build the embankment As a result, land conservation in Changsong County today is effective and, although small in area, the land is efficiently utilized for rice paddies.

As I observed on my present trip to Pungsan, a fine job has also been done in land conservation and land readjustment in Pukchong County Pukchong has not a very large land area either. Its people, however, farm what limited land they have efficiently. Traditionally, fine apples are harvested in Pukchong because its inhabitants cultivate the tree with skill. Good management of orchards reflects a high degree of farming know-how. The people of Pukchong have already restored all the land which was devastated by the overflowing of the Namdae-chon River in 1957.

While the people of Pukchong work their land so well, the people of Pungsan just beyond a hill manage their land carelessly. Why? The reason is that the leading functionaries there show small concern for the work of land conservation and make no effort to carry it out

Party organizations and the agricultural functionaries in Ryanggang Province should draw a profound lesson from this and direct their efforts toward land conservation. It must be seen to that not even a handful of earth is washed away by floods.

A great deal should be done in the way of land improvement also. It must be admitted that the land is more sterile in Ryanggang Province than in other provinces. But it is wrong

plain day and night of the poor land, instead of trying prove the soil. From olden times it has been said that is no poor land for a diligent farmer. That is totally cor- The more assiduously people care for land, the better it become.

As everybody knows, our country has a limited area of tivated land while its population is large. Therefore, we can- t under any circumstances abandon land just because it is oor. Land should be turned to good account and the poor soil hould be transformed into a fertile soil. The work of carpeting the fields with new soil and scorching soil should be conducted and plenty of lime should be applied to the acid soil. And the swamp land should also be improved.

At present, Ryanggang Province has 3,700 *chongbo* of swamp land. If it is ditched and drained and levelled up a little, it can all be turned into good land. In order to obtain more land the state is even reclaiming tideland with an investment of tens of millions of *won*. Then, why should we abandon swamp land which can be turned into a usable land provided it is ditched and well cared for?

All farm land in Ryanggang Province should be made fer- tile through effective soil improvement work.

Now, I should like to speak of livestock breeding.

As has been extensively mentioned in the speeches at this meeting, the development of livestock breeding requires, first of all, the reorganization of the work of state agricultural and livestock farms and the specialized management of stock farms.

At present, livestock breeding is not going well nor is crop growing in good shape because these activities are carried on together on the same farm. For that reason, the crop farm should be separated from the state agricultural and livestock farm and stockbreeding should be specialized. It would be ad- visable to allot about 200 to 300 *chongbo* of land to the sto[ck] farm for fodder cultivation, and organize a state crop far[m] with the rest of the land or turn the land over to a co-operati[ve] farm.

And it would be good for each stock farm to specializ[e]

different species of livestock. At present, pigs, cows, rabbits, and other domestic animals are raised together on one stock farm, with the result that none of them are bred well. Only specialization in different domestic animals will make it possible for us to obtain a wealth of detailed knowledge about each species of livestock and to steadily improve breeding method. The experience of other countries also shows that the specialized raising of one species is more advantageous than raising different species on the same farm.

Rabbits and domestic fowl should be raised in large numbers around Hyesan where pasture land is limited. You had better set up specialized rabbit and chicken farms in Hyesan and, if possible, a specialized goose farm as well. It would also be possible to set up a specialized poultry farm, breeding both geese and chickens if they can be raised together. In this way, the people of Hyesan should be supplied with plenty of chicken, rabbit meat and goose.

In addition, other stock farms in the province with extensive pasture land should specialize in the raising of livestock such as cows and sheep.

Quick fattening method should not be applied to cows and sheep being raised on the stock farms with grazing land, but should be used in the rabbit or poultry farms around Hyesan, even if the state has to supply them with some feed. The introduction of this method makes it possible to produce large quantities of meat in a short span of time.

Farm No. 5 is the oldest state farm in our country, so it is preferable to leave it as it is without dividing it into a stock farm and a crop farm There should, however, be a strict review of its manpower situation. Many of the dependants of the farm employees, we are told, are now idling away their time, not doing anything, they all should be given work. Dependants should be employed, for example, in the potato starch mill and, in turn, a large number of men should be released from there and transferred to farm work.

Livestock breeding on the co-operative farms should also be properly organized.

n the co-operative farms, the stock-raising teams should work on a large comprehensive scale; they should limit selves to raising breeding animals and distributing the g. Emphasis should be laid on small-scale collective raising with the workteam as the basic unit. A workteam should se no more than 30 head of cattle at the most and about 100 200 head of sheep.

At the same time, the co-operative farms should give every household domestic animals to raise. In our country, where pasture land is limited, it is a good idea for every household to raise domestic animals.

Cattle, however, should not be distributed to every household. As for sheep, we can give one to each household.

In this way, every farm household should raise one sheep, one or two pigs and about 30 chickens.

Grass-eating animals such as sheep, cattle and rabbits should be raised in large numbers in Ryanggang Province, a mountainous zone.

Since you have not said a word about rabbits at this meeting, it appears you are not interested in them; yet, in fact, rabbit breeding would bring you plenty of meat with a small expenditure of feed. If rabbits are fattened fast, one kilogramme of meat can be obtained for one kilogramme of grain. That is why, at present, a large number of rabbit farms are being run in other countries as well.

Poultry should also be raised on a large scale.

In animal husbandry today it is the tendency throughout the world to raise chickens extensively instead of pigs. Documentation from other countries shows that they are raising chickens on a vast scale.

Mass chicken raising is by no means new to us. Korean have been well-known chicken raisers since olden times.

Chickens are easy to raise and consume very little fee With 2.3 to 2.5 tons of unit feed, we can produce one ton chicken-meat.

Right now we will not give you specific target figures the development of livestock breeding. As for sheep, you

better strive to bring the total up to 100,000 by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

2. ON THE TIMBER INDUSTRY

Ryanggang Province is the richest timber area in our country. Our Party, therefore, has devoted special attention to the development of the timber industry in this region. The creation of Ryanggang Province was aimed primarily at developing the timber industry here on a large scale.

The Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee, however, has not paid due attention to the development of the timber industry in the past. The worst failing is that the provincial Party committee gives poor Party guidance to the timber industry, as is the case also with other spheres of economic work in the province.

The provincial Party committee substitutes guidance for the timber industry with pressing the lumber stations to turn out large quantities of timber or with giving them a dressing-down when they fail to fulfil the plans.

In particular, the provincial Party committee neglects its work with the cadres in the timber industry. Since the committee has not taught and educated the cadres in the timber industry, confining itself to simply studying them, the personnel in this field are now extremely deficient in quality. A considerable part of the personnel in the timber industry is ignorant of forestry economics; they do not know how to handle machines in their own speciality and do not even know how to organize manpower correctly. This being the case, it is natural that things are not going well with the timber industry.

Party guidance in the timber industry must be strengthened. For that purpose, it is necessary, first of all, to enhance the role of the timber industry department of the provincial Party committee and, meanwhile, radically step up the guidance of the county Party committees to the enterprises in the timber industry.

At present, the county Party committees do not work with the lumber stations at all, on the ground that they are second-grade enterprises, nor do they give any guidance to the lumber camps and felling teams; this is an organizational mistake. The county Party committees ought to work with the lumber stations and assume the direct responsibility of guiding the lumber camps and felling teams in the counties.

To this end, we must set up a timber industry department in the county Party committee or else increase the number of instructors in the organizational or propaganda department in the future, so that they can directly guide the Party organizations in the lumber camps and felling teams, intensifying political work with the personnel in this field. In this context, it would also be advisable for the Party organization of the lumber station, as a primary Party organization confined to the station alone, to be placed under the direct leadership of the county Party committee.

In particular, the Party organizations should, in a decisive way, step up their work with cadres in the timber industry. You should organize short courses frequently for leadership personnel of the timber industry, starting with the managers, chief engineers and deputy managers, in order to educate them in the Party's policies and equip them with economic knowledge and technical know-how; they should always be given active help and systematic education at the work sites themselves so that they can do their work properly.

In addition, the Party organizations should orient the lumber stations properly so that they will concentrate on the lumber camps, the units which give direct guidance to the felling teams.

The rotational felling system should be introduced into the timber industry on a large scale.

The introduction of the rotational felling system is good in many ways. Firstly, it makes it possible to concentrate the use of manpower, equipment and funds, rather than disperse them, and also stabilize the lives of the lumberjacks. And the introduction of this system gives us the possibility of increas-

ing the sense of responsibility of the workers, eliminating speculation in the timber industry and, instead, producing timber in a planned way, since it allows them to plant, grow and cut trees, regarding the lumbering districts as their own workshops. All the lumber stations, therefore, should adopt the rotational felling system.

You should make more efficient use of machinery and equipment in the timber industry.

At present, the utilization of machinery and equipment in the timber industry in Ryanggang Province is very scant. Though there are scores of tractors, their rate of operation is only 30 per cent. Even at the Yupyong lumber station where things are said to be best, only 11 out of 36 tractors, 12 out of 32 sawing machines and 5 out of 15 locomotives are in operation. Since this is the situation where things are said to be going well, after a fashion, it is quite obvious that it must be worse elsewhere. This is a very serious matter.

With such a low rate of utilization of equipment, no country can get along, however great its economic potential may be. The leading functionaries in the timber industry should be totally aware that they are responsible for the extremely low rate of utilization of machinery and equipment.

To increase the utilization of machinery and equipment in the timber industry we must first step up technical studies.

One of the main causes of the present partial operation and subutilization of machinery and equipment in this sector is precisely that the technical level of the workers is low. We must, therefore, give them technological training.

Some people still consider technology to be something mysterious but they need not. A mechanic does not fall from heaven or spring up from the earth. Anyone who puts his heart into acquiring technical training will be able to handle machinery and become an excellent mechanic.

As I have often said, all the People's Army men, from commanders down to privates, endeavour to be skilled in the use of their weapons. In the timber industry as well, technical studies should be intensified among all the people, from manage-

ersonnel down to the workers so that they are familiar
he machines and equipment in their field and handle
skilfully.

long with this, we should strive even more to handle our
inery and equipment with great care.

No matter how good the machines and equipment supplied
he state may be, they soon become unserviceable if they are
d carelessly. Operating machines and equipment without
oper care represents a survival of the obsolete capitalist ide-
ogy. In capitalist society, since all machinery and equipment
elong to the capitalists, it is natural for workers to mishandle
hem. But, in a socialist society, all machinery and equipment
belong to the working class and the people and must be taken
good care of.

The Party organizations must strengthen ideological and educational work among the functionaries and workers in the forestry section so that they handle machinery and equipment with as great care as they would their own property, and must build up the ranks of the tractor drivers with good people and increase their sense of responsibility.

In the timber industry as in other sectors of the national economy, you should keep enough spare parts in stock for more than three months of normal use, and carry on the repair and maintenance of machinery and equipment opportunely. Only by doing so, is it possible to lengthen the service life of machinery and equipment, while at the same time increasing their rate of operation.

We should also make our own efforts to manufacture more machines for the timber industry; more state attention should be directed to the production of machines like sawing machines and winches; and we must adequately build up machine-repair bases for the timber industry. It would be advisable for the state to organize a committee for establishing repair bases, similar to those in the mining industry. This committee should set up a medium-sized repair station in each lumber station and a major repair base in such central areas as Hyesan or Paegam.

Furthermore, it is necessary to make rational use of the waterways in the timber industry.

Long ago, we set ourselves the important task of making good use of waterways in timber transportation. I reiterated the importance of this problem at the 1954 national meeting of activists in the timber industry.

As you all know, there are favourable conditions for using rafts of timber on the rivers in the mountainous areas of our country. Our rivers are fast-flowing because the valleys are steep, and they swell during the spring thaw and the rainy season of July and August. Therefore, a considerable amount of timber can be floated from the timber collection sites down the swollen rivers

The use of water power in timber transport benefits the state considerably because it makes work easier and saves a lot of manpower, materials and money. Recently, I saw timber being rafted at Rimyongsu. If such a large amount of timber which is floated down at a single time were to be carried by train, it would require a considerable amount of time to load and unload it, a lot of coal and many freight cars. But rafting timber needs no special equipment, coal or gasoline.

The timber industry workers, therefore, should, in keeping with the Party policy, widely employ the method of floating timber down the rivers in its transport. To this end, watercourses should be improved on time and dams firmly reinforced with concrete so that they will not burst. And timber-raft technicians must be trained in great numbers at the College of Agriculture and Forestry. It would be advisable to give students not only a knowledge of machinery for the timber industry but also to give, as part of the curriculum, a course on the scientific and technical fundamentals of waterway usage in forestry.

If timber rafting is to be successful, we must draw a large number of young people and ex-servicemen into this field. At present, most of the raftsmen are old—their average age is something like 47. This fact stands in the way of the development of the swift rafting of timber.

Formerly, the majority of the workers in the fishing industry were also old, so our Party called upon the young people to set to work in large numbers in that field. This led to a great renovation of the fishing industry. There will certainly be a great renovation of timber rafting if large numbers of young men and ex-soldiers come into this field of work.

In addition, we must improve the supply of labour protection and safety equipment for workers in the timber industry.

At present, the supply of labour protection and safety equipment for the workers in this field is insufficient. On the grounds of economizing, the workers are provided with undersized boots, vinyl raincoats and padded clothing made from staple fibre fabrics. The work in the mountains and the trek back to camp soon wears out their clothes. For this reason, they cannot work properly.

This is not due to insufficient supplies on the part of the state. Enough cloth and sufficient funds for boots have been provided by the state. Failure to supply adequate labour protection and safety equipment indicates that some functionaries still have an incorrect view of the timber workers.

In fact, saving on labour protection and safety equipment did not benefit the state in the least. The workers might have felled many trees but they have failed to increase production due to the fact that they were supplied with carelessly-made clothing and boots which afforded no protection against the cold in winter. The "saving" actually caused a loss to the state.

If the lumberers are to work well, they should first be supplied with durable boots and warm clothing. To solve this problem, we must set up a special factory in Ryanggang Province to produce clothes exclusively for the lumbermen.

This is not so difficult a task. There are many clothing factories in Ryanggang Province, and we could simply assign one of them to specialize in the production of clothing and boots for the lumberers. Thus, this factory must draw up plans to standardize the size of boots, the style, thickness of clothing and the method of sewing and bring up these plans for discussion

with the workers and study them carefully, so that it can provide suitable clothing to forestry workers in a responsible manner.

Heavy-duty raincoats should be made and supplied to the lumberjacks. For this, we should have a special factory producing these raincoats designed for their needs. At present, Ryanggang Province is not even in a position to produce raincoats on its own, so I think it would be better to build a factory in Hamhung or Chongjin to manufacture them exclusively for forestry and fishing workers.

Furthermore, we should improve the processing and increase the utilization of timber.

This time I discovered that since my previous visit, you have cut down on timber wastage to a considerable degree. The Wiyon Sawmill, for instance, has introduced mechanization on a large scale, and is manufacturing dining tables and other everyday necessities in large quantities, by making use of leftover slabs of wood. This is a very good thing

However, the level of timber processing is far short of the demands of the Party In particular, the wastage of timber has not been eliminated as yet

In the Hyesan Kraft Paper Mill good logs are irrationally used as pulpwood We built the factory in Hyesan in order to make use of Ryanggang Province's abundant source of treetops. If we are going to make kraft from good logs, why did we build the factory in Hyesan instead of building it in Pyongyang where there are a large number of technicians and the possibility of the expert guidance? The personnel of the factory say that they are using logs because treetops are in short supply. The timber industry should make itself responsible for this.

The provincial Party committee and the city and county Party committees must strive energetically to develop timber processing further and, in particular, to make good use of the tops of the trees and the leftover slabs.

To begin with, the felling and sawing sectors should make the best possible use of treetops and slabs to turn out greater quantities of goods needed for the people.

he paper mill is fully capable of making furniture and articles of everyday use by effective utilization of waste erials. If it is impossible to make finished goods in certain ees, you could produce semi-finished goods and assemble m elsewhere. Take a dining table, for example. It can be sembled after making the legs in one place and the tabletop another.

And you must widely use the treetops in the paper mills. As you mentioned yesterday in your speeches, you can produce as much paper as necessary by using ground pulp made of treetops and drying or freezing it. Therefore, efforts should be made in the field of the timber industry to supply the paper mills with sufficient tops.

To continue. It is necessary to improve forest conservation and afforestation work.

The Party organizations of Ryanggang Province are confronted with the important task of properly protecting and assuring the healthy growth of forests, an invaluable natural resource for our country. As you well know, most of the forest resources of our country are found in Ryanggang Province. Virgin forests are found only in Ryanggang and North Hamgyong Provinces. If you simply fell trees and use them without conserving and planting them, all the forest resources of our country will become exhausted before long.

Forests are a valuable natural resource for the country. Timber is needed in all branches of the economy, including construction and industry. At present, we rely on wood for more than 50 per cent of our raw fibre materials, and the different kinds of paper, including kraft, are made from wood. I can be said that forests are equivalent to silk and paper. Yo must, therefore, make active efforts for conservation and a forestation.

The prevention of forest fire is most important in prese ing our forests. Once an accidental forest fire breaks ou great deal of wood is sure to be lost. Of course, trees ma planted again after the forest fire. But it would take u years to create a forest belt by planting trees.

At present, however, forest conservation work is insufficient in Ryanggang Province. Though traffic is brisk on the road leading to Mt. Paekdu-san, not a single sign of "Care For Your Forests" or "Avoid Causing Forest Fires" is found there.

It is true that putting up a sign is a mere formality. But effective use of signs may increase the vigilance of people. At the sight of the sign a person just about to have a smoke may refrain from lighting up.

At present, in Ryanggang Province many airplanes are sent on the lookout for forest fires. But fire watches alone are not enough.

In order to prevent forest fires it is necessary to thoroughly imbue the entire population in the province with the idea of conserving the forests. Education in forest protection must be stepped up in the Party organizations and all other organizations—the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League, the Women's Union, the Young Pioneers' Corps, schools, kindergartens, people's neighbourhood units, homes, etc. In this way, all the inhabitants of Ryanggang Province should be taught from childhood to acquire the daily habit of forestry preservation and of taking precautions to prevent forest fires.

At the same time fire-fighting corps should be organized to fight forest fires as soon as they break out and fire-breaks should be constructed in the villages and the county seats.

In order to conserve forests well and ensure their healthy growth you must effectively combat damage by blight or harmful insects. Firstly, you should prohibit the wilful snaring of useful insectivores. Secondly, you should spot in good time any ravages of blight and insect pests and regularly spray the forests with pesticides.

The wilful creation of burns should be controlled. It is more profitable to plant trees and create forests of economic value—timber forests or fibre forests—than to open up burns in the mountains. *With the exception of plots being opened* up due to the pressing needs of the state, there should not be a single *pyong* of burn.

Along with the work of forest conservation, the work of

ing trees and forests should be carried out in an all-
le movement. For this it is necessary to enhance the role
fforestation teams that have been organized at the co-oper-
e farms. It is advisable for the provincial Party committee
sum up the work of the afforestation teams and call a meet-
g. In the future you should make a point of summing up af-
orestation work each year and awarding a prize and good
clothes to those who have done their work efficiently.

3. ON LOCAL INDUSTRY

In local industry, in keeping with the policy already set forth by our Party, the locally available raw materials and other resources should be used on a huge scale, and the necessities of the local areas should be taken adequately into account. Only then can we tap all the abundant reserves latent in the localities and satisfactorily meet the diverse needs of the people.

Ryanggang Province is enormously rich in raw materials necessary for the development of local industry. Local industrial development will increase the incomes of the working people and greatly benefit the state through correct utilization of flax, timber and wild fruits abundant in this area.

First of all, by processing flax at the right time Ryanggang Province should produce large quantities of linen. At present a lot of flax is ruined due to untimely processing; this must not continue. The flax mills must not spoil flax but process it opportunely, making it possible thereby to turn out more good quality linen fabric for the people.

In local industry, too, treetops should be extensively us
to make wooden products such as daily necessities and to
as well as ground pulp to produce plenty of paper. Flax scr
and fibre odds and ends should not be used as fuel but ra
collected for paper-making.

In particular, the local industry factories in Ryang
Province should produce substantial quantities of
clothes for the population. As everybody knows, Ryan

Province is the coldest region in our country, where winter lasts almost seven months. In this region, therefore, it is important, before anything else, to prepare well for the winter.

But it seems that because many people from warm areas have settled in Ryanggang Province, preparations are only made for summer while preparations for the winter are neglected. This means that the people have no option but to shiver with cold in winter. This must not continue.

You must definitely solve the problem of winter clothes for the provincial population. In order to do this, local industry factories should first produce and supply more and better winter clothes, footwear and caps.

Along with this, everyone should fully prepare their clothes for the winter. The state will take definite measures, but you must economize and save money in summer to buy winter clothes for yourselves.

Another important question is the efficient processing of blueberries and other wild fruit.

Blueberries are a well-known local speciality of Ryanggang Province. If you make wine or syrup by processing blueberries correctly, they will be highly popular among the people and you will increase your income considerably.

At present, Ryanggang Province has fine factories but processing is inadequate. In the future, technical guidance should be given to the fruit processing plants so that they can work on wild fruit more adequately

In Pungsan County, for instance, there are plenty of willows. A large number of wicker trunks should be produced with their twigs.

Let me make some brief remarks about geological prospecting.

Ryanggang Province has enormous mineral resources. However, because geological prospecting has been poorly conducted, it can be said that Ryanggang Province still remains virgin land in this sphere. The Party organizations at all levels in the province should work closely with the geological prospecting corps so that more mineral resources can be exploited.

II. ON PARTY WORK

Over the past years, there has been some progress in the work of the Party organizations in Ryanggang Province, but many shortcomings still exist. The main defect in Party work is that bureaucracy and subjectivism are in great evidence, and the Party's mass line is not thoroughly implemented.

Of course, today is not the first time we have talked about this defect.

When we came here in 1958, we set down as an important task of the Party organizations in Ryanggang Province the need to put an end to bureaucracy and subjectivism in Party work and to work properly with cadres and the masses. But you have not adequately carried out this task assigned by the Party. The chief reason why none of the economic work, and that includes agriculture, the timber industry and local industry, is successfully implemented in Ryanggang Province lies precisely in the fact that Party work is not done well.

Bureaucracy and subjectivism in Party work manifest themselves most seriously in work with cadres. As we have always emphasized, the work with cadres is the first and foremost task of the Party committee. Adequate work with them is a prerequisite to the success of all work. What we mean by work with cadres is constantly helping them to work well, giving them systematic education and training, while, at the same time, understanding them and observing them at all times and selecting and promoting competent cadres.

However, the Party organizations in Ryanggang Provi[nce], instead of educating and training cadres, expel them thou[ght]lessly, alleging that they have slipped up in their work, [or] even dismiss, under some pretext or other, those who are capable of doing their work well if given a little assistan[ce].

It is no accident that at present many functionaries

province are anxious, dispirited and fearful of their superiors. Even when directives inappropriate to actual conditions are given from above, they grudgingly carry them out, fearing that if they did not, they would be dismissed. In cases where they do not execute directives, they falsely report that they have. They only weed and fertilize the land closest to the road, begin harvest in the fields most visible to an observer and then make false reports that everything is finished. The pressure to report high yields is so strong that they have gone so far as to add rotten potatoes to the total yield in their report to higher bodies.

If work with cadres is conducted as is done by you comrades, they will never be able to display creative initiative or carry out their revolutionary tasks properly.

The Party organizations must try to keep cadres on their jobs as long as possible, and avoid removing them thoughtlessly. It would be a grave mistake to think that things will go well if cadres are removed, simply because they have some defects, and new persons are promoted to their posts. A proverb in our country goes, "The good nature of a man's first daughter-in-law is only appreciated when he has his second one." This proverb is precisely applicable to you

However often you may replace cadres with new persons, you will be unable to find any who are faultless when they begin. Most of our cadres are of worker, peasant or intellectual origin who have had no experience in exercising state power and managing a large-scale economy in the past. It is therefore quite natural that they have little capability in their work. In addition, survivals of the old ideas, carried over from the exploiter society of the past, persist in the minds of our personnel. For this reason, some of those who until yesterday were engaged in farm work and today are cadres are apt to manifest a false dignity and make a showy display. Yet, if we dismiss them simply because they are useless, we should have to conclude that there is not a single man who is capable of doing his work. Needless to say, we cannot tolerate those who betray our Party and oppose the state. But, as long as they do not do so, we

...d not indiscriminately dismiss or expel them on the ...nds that they have some shortcomings in their work. Also, we should see to it that leading functionaries work ...heir posts for five to ten years. A county Party committee ...irman, for instance, should be kept to work in his county ... ten years, at least. In this way, the cadres should be assured ...nditions that permit them to make a profound study of their ...asks, calmly and deliberately.

Our Party functionaries should open-mindedly teach and assist the cadres of the government organs and all the cadres working in the economic sectors including agriculture, the timber industry and mining. They should constantly educate them so that they can avoid committing errors. This does not mean at all that cadres must not be criticized. When cadres do not work well, we must criticize them without delay. Criticism is a natural method for educating personnel.

Criticism should be made not to dismiss personnel but to make better people out of them. All personnel should thus be properly educated in the spirit of being able to boldly correct their mistakes, without any fear of criticism.

Besides, the Party functionaries should learn to care for the cadres, hold them in high esteem and have regard for their opinions. If the Party functionaries simply reprimand cadres, act severely towards them and ignore their opinions, then nobody will approach the Party organizations willingly and inform them of how things really stand. This will inevitably lead to subjectivism in Party work and make it impossible for the Party organizations to play their role properly.

Our Party functionaries should be as kind to cadres as a... mother is to her children, always taking an interest in them... both in and out of work and promptly understand and help t... untie any knotty problems they may have.

They must be attentive to suggestions of the cadres. Lo... echelon cadres consider their views from many angles bef... they present them. Their views, therefore, must not be fl... rejected but rather studied carefully on the spot. If their i... prove correct, you must support them and actively help t...

plement them. Even if their ideas do not conform to the facts and are incorrect, you must patiently explain this to the proponents so that they can understand why. Only in this way will all cadres come to the Party committee of their own accord and talk openly about the knotty problems that have arisen in their work, or even about their private affairs.

By valuing the cadres, teaching them and helping them properly in this way, we should train them into excellent people who use their brains in their work, actively advance creative ideas and carry out their assignments independently—not people who are only forced to do what is ordered.

The Party organizations in Ryanggang Province must do away with subjectivism and bureaucracy not only in the work with cadres but also with the masses, and thoroughly put into practice the Party's mass line.

Unless we rely on the masses and win them over, we cannot translate the Party's policies into reality, nor can we successfully push ahead with our revolutionary tasks. The implementation of the mass line is the fundamental guarantee for victory in the revolution and construction. That is why our Party has consistently underlined the need to carry through the mass line.

In the past, our guerrillas emerged victorious in the 15-year long struggle against the formidable Japanese imperialists because they, following the slogan, "As fish cannot live out of water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people," always relied upon the people, maintained kindred ties with them and enjoyed their active support.

If we are to implement the Party's mass line, we must first listen to the demands of the masses and work energetically to defend their interest. Whenever you have to deal with a problem, you must always take into consideration beforehand the effect it will have on the interests of the people.

Many functionaries in Ryanggang Province, however, are working in a subjective way without accepting the opinions of the masses and without paying heed to whether or not the masses like what they are doing; they dare to infringe upon the

interests of the masses. In fact, you use a deluge of words, stressing the need to carry through the mass line, talking about the Chongsan-*ri* spirit, the Chongsan-*ri* method and the Taean work system, but you do not put it into practice.

In Kapsan County, working on the idea of securing an area sown with potatoes, and disregarding what the peasants thought, the leading personnel gave instructions to grow potatoes on fertile land which had been cultivated with other crops for several hundred years. This seriously affected farming. Previously in Unhung County, too, in July when the potato planting season was over, the peasants were told to plough up the fields where crops had already been planted in order to sow potatoes, on the grounds that 400 *chongbo* of potato plots were still not secured. We are told that when the peasants said that potatoes planted in July would fail, the leading personnel forced them to go ahead with the project, ranting at them for their lack of Party spirit.

When we previously gave guidance to the Party organization of Chongsan-*ri*, Kangso County, we severely criticized the actions of leadership who turned a deaf ear to the view of peasants, dictated to them in a bureaucratic way and thus brought about failures in farming. The leading personnel here, however, have not drawn a lesson from that criticism and still persist in such practices. It is for this reason that farming has shown no positive results and that the Party's policies cannot be correctly implemented.

Moreover, in Ryanggang Province, the leadership personnel forced the peasants to root out the maize in their kitchen gardens on the grounds that they should have planted potatoes or flax; they even compelled them to sell the meagre amount of potatoes reaped from their kitchen gardens to the state using the pretext that they were "grain crops." Where on earth can we find a more bureaucratic act than this? Nobody can feel satisfied if you act in that way.

What is worse, people are not allowed to breed dogs in Ryanggang Province. Of course, this is not the first time I have mentioned this matter. When we visited the district of Kim-

chaek, North Hamgyong Province, in 1958, we sharply criticized the leading functionaries there for having forbidden the breeding of dogs on the grounds that it was a nuisance to hygienic activities And this time in Samjiyon County, we heard the same thing from personnel there. Some comrades alleged that they did so because dogs got mad and bit people When a dog goes mad, that dog should be destroyed, but why should the breeding of healthy dogs be prohibited?

No matter how obedient the people of Samsu and Kapsan may be, they certainly will not feel too happy if you continue to harass them, telling them to plant potatoes in swamps, do away with rice paddies, root out maize in the kitchen gardens, sell to the state all the potatoes cultivated there and give up their dogs. What difference is there between your actions and those of government officials in the old feudal days or at the time of Japanese imperialist rule? If you continue to work in this way, you will become even more divorced from the masses and unable to carry out the tasks confronting Ryanggang Province.

Besides, there are many other instances which show your subjective and bureaucratic way of working As was mentioned in your speeches yesterday, you work out plans at a desk in a subjective way, instead of going among the masses, and then impose them on subordinates in a bureaucratic manner. So, it is obvious that such plans cannot properly be put into effect.

Present here today are the functionaries of the provincial Party committee and chairmen of the county Party committees and the *ri* Party committees. You must know the serious consequences of the subjective and bureaucratic practices you have used in your work in the past, and must not repeat such errors

Our Party's policies for agriculture, the timber industry and all other sectors of the economy of Ryanggang Province are all correct. But, however good the Party's policy may be and however much the measures for its implementation are discussed, that policy cannot be put into practice successfully if the personnel responsible for applying it work in a bureaucratic way and fail to carry through the mass line of the Party.

The Party organizations of Ryanggang Province, therefore,

must definitely rid themselves of subjectivism and bureaucracy in their work and strive with renewed vigour to carry through the mass line of the Party. All cadres must regard as an iron rule in work the championing of the masses' interests and they must go among the masses, listen to what they say, explain and persuade them, and vigorously arouse their voluntary enthusiasm and creative initiative. This is precisely what is meant by the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method and it is the basic requisite of the Taean work system.

You cannot keep alive the honour of living in the revolutionary battleground which is dyed with the red blood of the Korean Communists, by simply putting up showy slogans or signboards or building a museum of the revolution. You must uphold this honour through actual deeds, by carrying through our Party's mass line in a more exemplary way than any other province, following the example of the revolutionary fighters. Only by doing so, will you be worthy of living in this area of revolutionary battles.

Now, I should like to say a few words about intensifying the struggle against revisionism.

Revisionism is an ideology that negates the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and denies the need for revolution. The revisionists say that they will suffer from the war which might break out if other people continue making revolution. Thus, they preach desisting both from the struggle against imperialism and from the national-liberation struggle in the colonies.

It is justified that we should fight against revisionism. We have not yet completed the revolution. We have liberated only half of our territory and one-third of our people. The Korean Communists, therefore, are duty bound not only to promote the construction of socialism in the northern half but also to drive the U.S. imperialists out of the southern half and achieve the liberation of our nation.

When half of the territory still remains under the colonial yoke of foreign imperialism, how can we desist from the struggle against imperialism?

We cannot give up the revolution, nor can we stop fighting

against imperialism. No matter what machinations the revisionists may resort to, we must continue with the revolution and resolutely fight against imperialism without letup. In order to continue the revolution, the entire people must be fully armed with a revolutionary spirit.

To this end, our Party members who are responsible for the education of the people must first of all firmly equip themselves with revolutionary ideas. And, in particular, all the cadres and working people, who live and work in this area of revolutionary battles, an area which bears the traces of the bloody struggle waged by our revolutionary forerunners, must arm themselves with the revolutionary spirit more thoroughly than anybody else.

In the field of economic construction, too, we must build an independent national economy by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. To rely on oneself is the lofty revolutionary spirit of the Communists. Only by building an independent national economy through self-reliance can we successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks before us. We must accomplish the revolutionary task of the country's reunification through our own efforts, and we must build socialism and communism throughout Korea in the future. For this, we must lay the solid material and technical foundation of socialism by developing an independent national economy. It would be a different story if frontiers disappeared and communism were realized on a world-wide scale. But, as long as there exist frontiers and each country has its own revolutionary tasks and manages its own economic life, each must have its own resources. Especially, since quite a few people in the southern half are still inclined to rely on the U.S. and the Japanese imperialists, we must hold still higher the slogan of building an independent national economy.

To conclude, I am firmly convinced that you will successfully carry out all the tasks confronting Ryanggang Province by further improving and strengthening your work in accordance with the spirit displayed at this plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee.

officer who does not know how to fight is called a "felt hat" by the soldiers. It is a far cry from being a school master to being a co-operative chairman.

To be a co-operative chairman, you should have a knowledge of soil science which tells you what kind of fertilizer is suitable for which agrotype and how to ameliorate a certain type of soil when it contains mainly such-and-such elements; you should have a basic knowledge of plant and animal growth and a knowledge of the efficiency of farm machines such as tractors and combines. You should also learn how to organize work and how to lead the masses.

No one is well-informed from the beginning. Everyone has to learn. You will become well-informed if you learn from each other. There is no hard and fast rule that only a farmer can become a co-operative chairman. Anyone can become one if he learns.

How do you learn? You should learn from the masses. Without going among the masses, you cannot learn. All of you present here are masters of farming. The chairman should open-mindedly learn farm work from the peasants, while passing on to them what he knows.

It was not because they knew about industry and technology from the first that the cadres who had been engaged in the revolutionary struggle in the past gave guidance in industry. None of them had any experience at running a factory. But we have run the factories and the nation's economy, learning from the start.

Just because cadres should learn from the masses, this does not mean that everyone may draw his own conclusions, which would lead to a state of anarchy. The conclusion should be drawn, after all, by the chairman. To do this correctly, he should be at home in farming and stockbreeding and should have the real state of affairs in his co-operative at his fingertips. To get to know the situation in his co-operative well, he should listen to the opinions of the peasants with willing ears and learn a great deal from them.

After the discussions the chairman should make a scru-

pulous analysis of which views are correct and which not, which views have won general approval and which views have been generally objected to, what good points the ayes have found and what faults the nays have detected. If all he does is to hold forth without listening carefully to other people's opinions, there is no need for discussion at all. Needless to say, decisions cannot be left to others. The chairman himself should make a decision on the basis of the Party's policies, after carefully weighing all the views expressed. This is the way to lead the masses while learning from them.

In order for the management board to do a good job, its members and the workteam leaders should actively help the chairman in his work. The chairman cannot and should not work all by himself. You should consult with and help each other. Things will get nowhere if they are done in such a way as all the responsibility for drawbacks falls on to the chairman and he, in turn, passes all the blame on to the workteam leaders. The chairman should have regard for his subordinates' opinions and guide them kindly in their work; and those below, for their part, should help and advise him so that he can do a good job. It is wrong for a chairman to snarl at his subordinates for no reason instead of feeling affection for them and convincing them of their faults. It is likewise wrong not to give the chairman ready help in his work, regarding him as a horrible man. Up to now the chairman here does not seem to have become such a horrible man. Of course, it is wrong to connive and compromise with each other's errors. Yet, it is also wrong to weaken the unity of people. The important thing is to achieve unity in the comradely spirit of mutual assistance and love.

The *ri* Party committee is largely to blame for the poor showing made by the management board in its work. First of all, the chairman of the *ri* Party committee is as lifeless as frostbitten leaves, and as bewildered as a man who has just been saved from drowning. He acts in a spiritless way, though he has been given concrete instructions by the deputy director of the Organizational Department of the Party Central Commit-

tee and the Provincial Party Committee Chairman to deliver the report at the general meeting of the Party organization today.

The Party committee, if it is weak, can neither back up the work of the management board nor exercise control over it. If the management board fails to work well, the Party committee chairman should call a meeting where he should criticize the shortcomings and set the right course for its work. But the *ri* Party committee, trailing after the management board, is muddling about together.

Figuratively speaking, the county or *ri* people's committee chairman is the oarsman in front while the county or *ri* Party committee chairman is the steersman placed at the stern. What will happen to the work if the steersman dozes off at the stern, leaving the management board alone even when it fails to hold the right course and goes astray.

The chairman of the *ri* Party committee is not the only one to blame. Its members have also done a bad job. There is no reason why the Party organization as a whole should run aground because its chairman fails to do good work. If the Party committee members faithfully carry out their assignments and, when they find a mistake in the work of their chairman, severely criticize him at a committee meeting to correct his error in good time, the Party committee can do its work properly despite poor work on the part of the chairman. The original reason why the Party committee is organized and its members elected is that they should lead the Party organization by displaying collective wisdom, through mutual co-operation, because the chairman, working alone, may make mistakes.

A serious defect in your work is that the Party committee plays an inadequate role as an organ of collective leadership. Though you held a number of committee meetings every year, you dealt mainly with disciplinary matters and failed to discuss the work of the co-operative in a concrete way and give definite assignments to the committee members.

It seems necessary for the committee members to sit together and discuss matters at least once a week, so that the

Party committee may understand everything that takes place in the *ri* and give concrete guidance to the work of the management board.

You take meetings so seriously that you think it is indispensable to prepare reports and resolutions. You need not be so formal. The important thing is to get together promptly to discuss all matters and give proper assignments. Discussions should be held on practical matters such as what is needed for good farming this year, what is most important in making adequate preparations for farming, etc., and concrete tasks should be assigned to all committee members, specifying who is to take charge of helping to repair farm machinery, who is to help carry manure out to the fields, and so on. If you only hold discussions and do not give assignments, no one will feel any sense of responsibility.

You must carry out the assignments given by the committee. Party work is revolutionary work. You cannot become a revolutionary if you would not make revolution without being paid. It is wrong to approach Party work as something you will do only if you benefit from it and will not do if you gain nothing from it. To carry out the tasks assigned by the Party, you should work without resting even though others take rest when the day's work is over.

You should not just give assignments and then neglect to check up on their fulfilment. As for checking up, you should not think that some sort of inspection group has to be organized and sent out to do it. When you have assigned some kind of task to be done by a set time, you should find out how the committee members are carrying them out, and should give proper guidance if they are not done correctly. For example, when a committee member has been entrusted with the task of giving guidance to a comrade who has failed to observe organizational discipline strictly, you should ask the member how often he has talked personally with the comrade and how he has given him guidance; when you have assigned a committee member to the task of directing the blacksmith's work to finish repairing farm machines by a given date, you should

ask the member whether he has done it and, if not, you should see whether there are any bottlenecks, and the committee members should get together once again to discuss necessary measures. In this way the 13 members of the committee should sit together regularly to hold discussions, give assignments, check up on and sum up the fulfilment of these tasks in good time, and, on this basis, hold further discussions to give out new assignments. This alone will make it possible for all committee members to bring their wisdom into play and for the committee to fulfil its role.

The primary Party organizations should also work in the same way as the *ri* Party committee.

Just as we are now regularly taking part in general meetings of the primary Party organizations, before, when we were waging the guerrilla struggle, we used to participate in meetings of the company Party organizations. A guerrilla company was made up of 70 to 80 men, and yet it had no more than 6 or 7 Party members. When a company had instructions from higher up to get ready for a battle which was to take place in a week or about 10 days, the chairman of the company Party organization would call a Party meeting.

At the Party meeting all matters related to the preparations for battle were discussed and tasks assigned. The Party members were given detailed assignments—one comrade was to assume the responsibility for giving guidance to a certain guerrilla who lagged behind and became a burden whenever a battle took place; another comrade was to undertake the task of guiding and helping a certain recruit, cleaning his rifle and twisting strings for his knapsack; yet another comrade was to bear the responsibility for provisions, making parched-rice flour by such-and-such a method; and still another comrade was to take the responsibility for treating a sick comrade so that he would be able to take part in the battle to be fought by the company; the last comrade was to tell stories to the guerrillas from novels based on battles fought by the revolutionary armies and stories about the old-time generals who had fought courageously, organize discussions among the guer-

rillas based on these novels and stories about the guerrilla struggle of the revolutionary armies. Then, the Party members went without sleep to carry out these Party assignments, while all of them carried on their military duties—some standing guard and others going out on scouting missions.

The preparations for battle and for farming are both tasks set forth by the Party. So, there can be no difference in the method of discussing them at the general meeting of the primary Party organization. Every Party member should be given concrete assignments: when there is a man who is work-shy, a certain comrade should be given the assignment of educating him to work conscientiously; another comrade should be given the task of introducing the experiences of other workteams in the preparations for farming; and yet another comrade should be assigned the task of organizing a talk for the co-operative members to discuss the experiences in the preparations for farming carried in newspapers, and so on. All Party members should thus carry out the tasks assigned to them by the Party organization while doing their farm work in an exemplary way.

The Party is an organization. If you merely call on the Party members to play an exemplary role at a meeting, the Party organization will not rise to activity. It will only become active when organizational work is conducted in such a way as to give assignments to every Party member so as to rouse him to activity, and to take stock of the fulfilment of those assignments. The Party Rules states that the Party member should publicize the Party's policies and become a model in the struggle for their implementation. Concrete tasks should be assigned to Party members so that they can carry out the Party's policies. If they all strive to implement the Party's policies, the Party organization will become a dynamic, living organization.

Another defect in your work is inadequate education of the Party members.

It is of paramount importance to raise the level of Party members' communist consciousness. You laid stress on communist consciousness in the course of your conversation with me yesterday. And your speeches at today's meeting have

shown me that many comrades have a low level of political consciousness.

I should like to briefly emphasize only a few points on communist education, since I have talked about it before.

One of the most important questions in communist education is to educate people in the spirit of love for work.

A man who does not like to work cannot be a Communist. A man who loves to live an idle life is a man imbued with the ideas of the exploiting classes. All precious things such as food, clothes and houses are products of man's labour. Without working we cannot even subsist, not to speak of building a good society. As a rule, a man must eat and use what he has earned by his own work. Those who seek to live on the earnings of others are, in the final analysis, people who would like to exploit others.

Why do we hate the landlords and capitalists? Because they live a life of idle ease without working, by exploiting what the workers and peasants have produced by the sweat of their brows. The Communists are opposed to such an idle set of people, and struggle to overthrow the social system where the exploiters rule the roost and to build a society where everyone works and everyone is well-off.

Some comrades think that in a communist society everybody will live idly because everyone will be well-off, but this is a completely wrong idea. True, in a communist society people will be prosperous in a way we can hardly imagine now, but even then there will be no one who eats the bread of idleness. That we will all come to enjoy a life of abundance in a communist society, does not mean that we will be able to live without working, but that when everyone works, the workday will be shorter and work will become easier and, furthermore, joyful, thanks to technological progress. To hasten the building of such a good society, we should work even harder now.

The woman workteam leader who spoke a little while ago was right when she said that we should work harder since we still have to reunify the country. As we are still backward

and have much work to do, we should work harder than others.

We should become a people who hate the ideas of the exploiting classes who despise labour and are averse to work, a people who think it a great shame not to work, who regard work as sacred and most honourable and enjoy work. Only such people can be said to possess a communist ideology.

Our people are industrious by nature. No end of fine examples can be found of our diligent and patriotic people's love for work.

Sometime ago when I went to the Sangyang Agricultural Co-operative with the provincial Party committee chairmen, I met an old woman there from the bereaved family of a person who had been killed by the enemy. She was a model farmer working on the co-operative. She said that the bereaved families of those killed by the enemy had to work harder than others. After returning, I told people about her.

Revolutionaries always emerge from among the fine working people who love work. The families of revolutionaries are ideologically more resolute, and the more ideologically staunch they are, the more they become unassuming and love work.

As I told you once, Grandma Ryom Bo Bae is now well over seventy. Her husband was killed by the enemy while helping the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army; her eldest son who took a direct part in the guerrilla struggle fought bravely and fell in battle; and her nephew was arrested and killed by the Japanese bandits on the charge of having acted as guide to our guerrilla unit on the way to Changpai County, Hyesan and other places on the Amnok-gang River when the unit moved from north to east Manchuria. She herself helped us guerrillas with her whole heart, and during the past Fatherland Liberation War she cooked rice for our temporarily retreating People's Army men in spite of the danger posed by the enemy who was expected to move in at any moment. Indeed, the state should support such a grandmother well.

But she has never once asked for an old age pension or made any complaint. She brought up all her three remaining sons by herself and sent them into the People's Army. When

I went to Ryanggang Province in the spring of 1958, I met her and suggested that she quit work and retire. Her answer was that she would continue to work till the day she died.

What should we learn from this sort of people? We should learn their thinking. Theirs is precisely communist thinking.

Work is hard, and this is true for everyone. But if nobody works because it is hard, who would ever build socialism for us? It is impossible for a passer-by to make our country rich and strong.

We cannot give up revolution because it is difficult. When the men and officers of the People's Army defend blizzard-swept heights without sleep, it is not that it is an easy job. Though it is a very hard task, they do it for the sake of the people, the Party and the country.

When we were waging the guerrilla struggle, the Japanese rogues slandered us by calling us crazy people who were wandering about undergoing hardships for over ten years, uselessly taking along with us a large number of young people when there was no hope of achieving national independence. Indeed, when we did so we were not unaware that it would have been nice to have enjoyed a peaceful family life in a well-heated home. But we were thinking of restoring the country and saving the people at all costs. That was why it was not painful for us to undergo hardships.

Why had we had a hard time of it for nearly 40 years under the Japanese imperialist oppression? It was because our ancestors had failed to make our country rich and strong. If instead of building socialism through hard work now we hand down outdated things to posterity, our descendants will face hardships generation after generation. We have a lot of more work to do not only to enjoy a better life ourselves but also to bring happiness to our posterity.

Work not only brings us a new, bountiful life but makes us competent and staunch builders of socialism. Through work man can accumulate precious experiences in the transformation of nature, and develop his talents. While working we can be educated in the collectivist spirit of helping each other to

overcome difficulties, get rid of the survivals of the old thinking of the exploiting classes who hate to work, and we can arm ourselves with the ideas of the working people who love to work.

Another important aspect of communist education is to teach people the spirit of protecting state and common property.

You *still have the* bad habit of not taking good care of state and co-operative property as you do your own. As was revealed in your speeches, you never feel bad about how much your chickens might peck at the grain of the co-operative, considering it all right for them to eat their fill. This is proof that you do not care about the property of the co-operative after all.

The landlords and capitalists bled the workers and peasants white only for the sake of their own affluent life with no regard for others.

But our purpose is to make everyone equally well-off, not just a few individuals. Therefore, we own all paddy and dry fields in common and work them jointly and have all our property including cows, horses and farm machinery under *common ownership. The common property of the co-operative* is not the property of any individual, but is the property owned commonly by all the co-operative members. If every co-operative *member cared only for his own property and handled* the co-operative's property carelessly, and if he were not at all concerned about how the co-operative farm work is going, because he is not the only one to make a living from it, it is obvious that the co-operative's property could not increase and farming would not go well.

The man who does not care what will become of state and co-operative property as long as he himself is well-off, is, in the last analysis, a man ingrained with the selfish thinking of the exploiter classes. This selfish thinking is bad, quite contrary to communist ideology. As selfishness grows, it may make a man go so far as to betray the Party, the country and the people, not to speak of misappropriating state and co-opera-

tive property for his own interests, and, in the end, degrade into an enemy agent.

This selfish thinking has very deep roots, for it was nourished in the society of exploiting classes over thousands of years. We must continue to wage an ideological struggle against selfishness so as to build socialism and completely remould people's thinking along the lines of communist ideology.

Another important thing in educating the co-operative members in communist ideology is to repudiate conservative idea of clinging to outmoded things and actively cultivate in them the revolutionary idea of caring for new things.

We are now living in an era of revolution. We have cast off all kinds of outworn, rotten ways of life kept up for ages and are building the most progressive society of new type. Unless we cast away the old things boldly, we cannot create the new. Unless we abandon the old system, old ideas, old methods of work and old customs that stand in the way of our progress, we cannot build a new, socialist society.

At present, co-operatives have been formed all over the rural areas and agriculture is operated on socialist principles. We must boldly improve all farming and management methods to suit the advanced socialist co-operative economy, and quickly do away with old ideas and customs. We must fight ceaselessly to create the new against the old that hinder our onward march. The revolutionary spirit of striving for continued innovation and uninterrupted advance represents precisely the communist idea suited to our social system.

While intensifying communist education, we must endeavour to develop beautiful morals and manners among the people. Some people think that a Communist is a person who knows nothing but revolution, but they are greatly mistaken. The Communist has a higher morality and has a greater regard for the fine customs of his people than anyone else.

The Communist loves his parents, wife and children, loves his comrades, respects the aged, leads a simple life and is always modest in his behaviour. Disrespect and impertinence

towards the aged is an attitude totally incompatible with the moral traits of the Workers' Party member. Some comrades, instead of kindly looking after the families of soldiers and the bereaved families of those killed by the enemy, behave badly, going to the length of insulting the women of those families. This happens because they lack respect for the people and love for their comrades; it is an expression of the survivals of the old ideologies of the exploiter classes. This is a shameful behaviour contrary to our communist morality.

All such immoral deeds undermine the unity of our people and impede our advance. An uncompromising ideological struggle should be waged against such tendencies and the moral education of the masses should be further strengthened.

All ideological education must be carried on in combination with education in our Party's policies. They indicate the path to be followed by our Party and our people. Figuratively speaking, the Party's policies may be compared to a light that illumines a road at night. A person who is ignorant of the Party's policies is like a man travelling on a dark night; he cannot tell if there is a path ahead or not, which path is rough and which even, and so may possibly stumble or fall into a dangerous pit. If he carries a lantern or a flashlight with him, he can find the path and pick his way along a smooth shortcut without going astray into a rugged path.

Our Party's policies are clearly set out in the Party's documents: decisions of the Party Congresses, of the Party Central Committee and the Party Presidium.

Party policy study is obligatory to every Party member. Our Party's policies, based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in our country, define the path we must follow. The study of our Party's policies and Marxism-Leninism will enable you to fight on courageously without losing hope for a happy future and confidence in victory under any adversity.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, many people were quite hazy as to when the Japanese rogues would be defeated and Korea would achieve independence. People who failed to make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation could

not foresee the defeat of Japanese imperialism, nor could they have faith in victory.

But those who possessed a Marxist-Leninist understanding could see the doom of Japanese imperialism and our people's victory as clearly as if looking down from the top of a high hill. Those who lacked foresight and vacillated became depraved, while those who continued with the struggle looking ahead into the future with faith in the truth of Marxism-Leninism emerged victorious.

If everyone fully studies the essence and correctness of the Party's policies in relation to their own actual conditions, and goes on fighting along the path indicated by the Party, he will surely be victorious.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you that the Party members should further strengthen their unity. The Party members must consciously unite because they adhere to the same ideas of communism and struggle for the same goal. We should surmount a multitude of difficulties in order to build socialism and advance to communist society. Difficulties cannot be surmounted unless the Party members trust each other and are firmly united. The one million Party members must all unite, and in the *ri* Party organization, all the Party members must also have an identical mind and purpose.

When a shortcoming is revealed, it must be criticized and rectified on time and when there are differences among the Party members, you should overcome them promptly by waging a day-to-day struggle through education and persuasion, whether by calling a committee meeting to discuss them or by having individual talks. If shortcomings accumulate and differences grow bigger, they will become difficult to solve and it will be hard to ensure unity.

The *ri* Party committee and primary Party organizations should always strengthen criticism and self-criticism in the Party and thus rectify shortcomings in time and overcome differences, and should direct great efforts to ensuring the ideological unity of the Party members.

The Enlarged December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the

Party Central Committee set forth an important task of bringing about a fresh, greater upsurge in socialist construction. Now, more than ever, our co-operative members are confronted with the important task of turning out larger quantities of grain, meat and vegetables and raising the living standard of the people. Just as we brought about a great upsurge in socialist construction in the course of the all-people struggle to carry out the decision of the Plenary Meeting of December 1956, we must also achieve a great, new victory in the struggle for implementing the decision of the Enlarged December 1959 Plenary Meeting.

I believe that all of you, united more closely around the Party Central Committee, will carry out with honour the tasks set out for our peasants by the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting.

In farming, the per-unit-area yields indicate a steady increase annually. Animal husbandry has also developed considerably in comparison with the past. This is a result of the successful struggle which all the peasants in the county, upholding the Party policy, have waged to develop agriculture to a more advanced level.

You have achieved great successes in building local industry as well. Following the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, local industry has made rapid progress. In Kangso County there are now provincially-run factories such as a ceramic works, an integrated machine-building plant, a chemical works and a knitted-goods mill; also, nine county-owned factories including a foodstuff plant, a knitted-goods mill, a building-materials factory, an ironware factory and an honoured disabled veterans' factory for daily necessities. Such local industry factories turn out various daily necessities and thus greatly contribute to the people's well-being. Further, many housewives entered the factories and joined the ranks of the working class, and are developing into fine socialist builders.

As mentioned above, you have registered great successes in your work in the past, but you have also had quite a few shortcomings. You have many shortcomings particularly in the guidance of agriculture.

As I said at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization, much manpower and money have been dispersed on tasks of secondary importance, whereas in agriculture today, all energies should be concentrated on farm work including grain growing.

Moreover, both the operation of the co-operative economy and the guidance of work are unplanned. It is a well-known principle that the socialist economy can be operated only in a planned way. But owing to the unplanned, haphazard operation of the co-operative economy, much labour and money have been wasted.

Even more serious is the fact that the socialist principle of distribution has not been strictly observed. The work done

by the co-operative members has not been accurately assessed. Equal shares have been distributed to all regardless of whether work was performed or not, which has given rise to many loafers on the job. With idlers increasing, even those who used to work well have come to shirk their work, and quite a few persons have developed a desire to go where the job is easy and yet earns them many work-points. As a result, less manpower has been assigned to farm work which is toilsome and, consequently, plans for agricultural production have not been carried out properly.

Although per-*chongbo* yields have risen annually, many co-operatives and workteams have not weeded in time and not faithfully carried out the Party policy on giving priority to grain in allotting crop areas, which has resulted in a failure to produce more grain even though it could have been done.

Why have things come to this? Is it because our peasants did not have enough zeal? No, it is not. The principal reason is that the county Party committee has not properly directed the county people's committee which is responsible for the guidance of agriculture. The county people's committee has not carried out its work properly because the county Party committee has failed to give it correct guidance.

At present the county people's committee bears responsibility for directly organizing and guiding the life of the co-operatives. Previously the county people's committee guided the co-operatives and individual peasants through the *ri* people's committees. Last year, however, the co-operatives were amalgamated into one for each *ri* and the *ri* became a unit of production. True, the *ri* people's committee as a form of power organ remains, but the chairman of the *ri* people's committee at the same time holds the post of chairman of the co-operative, and the *ri* has practically become a production unit. It is therefore wrong for the county people's committee to try to give guidance in production through the *ri* people's committees. Just as the *ri* people's committee did before, so should the county people's committee organize and guide production directly.

The county people's committee, however, has not directly guided the *ri* people's committees which are production units, but instead, conducted its work by sending down resolutions and written orders and urging them to submit statistics. This is an outmoded way of guidance ill-suited for the new, changed circumstances.

The county people's committee should not think that there is another intermediary echelon under it. You should know that at present the county is the terminal unit which is administratively responsible for production. The functionaries of the county people's committee should personally go down to co-operatives and help them draw up their farm production plans, guide them in technological matters, and give specific guidance from the standpoint of assuming responsibility for their production.

The county should directly answer for whether a co-operative thrives or not, or for whether the work of its management board goes well or badly. The county should hold itself responsible for the development of the productive forces at the co-operatives and for increase in the peasants' incomes. For this purpose, farm machinery should be replenished, and guidance should be given so as to improve the farm machinery and soil and to organize labour rationally. And the county should also give concrete guidance in making correct distribution to the peasants and boosting their incomes.

It was already suggested at an enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee in March last year that the people's committee should perform its work in conformity to the new, changed circumstances. Nevertheless, the county Party committees have not taken measures for strengthening the work of the county people's committees. So, this problem was taken up again and definite measures were taken at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee some time ago. If the issue had been ignored and had not been considered at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting, even more serious shortcomings might possibly have appeared.

A bureaucratic and formalistic style of work still persists in the guidance of the countryside because outmoded work methods have not been discarded. Plans which are someone's own brain child are imposed upon the peasants without the slightest regard for their interests. The field was planted to red beans, then it was ploughed up to plant maize on the pretext of turning it into a fodder field, and then once again it was ploughed up to plant vegetables, with the result that neither red beans nor maize nor cabbage was reaped. Moreover, how much manpower and seeds must have been wasted and how much pain it must have caused to the peasants because the field was ploughed up as many as three times.

All this labour, seed and material are funds of the co-operatives and common property of the co-operative members. And though they caused great losses and suffering to the peasants by doing this, the functionaries of the county or provincial people's committee have no regrets. This is a wrong attitude, feeling no sense of responsibility for whether the peasants are well-off or not.

What on earth have the bureaucrats gained from such haphazard guidance of the co-operatives? Waste of labour, waste of co-operative property, no crops—nothing. There is one thing, though, that the bureaucrats have earned at the expense of the people's interests. It is the fact that they were able to report to the Minister of Agriculture that the area planted to vegetables was brought up to the mark. In other words, they earned personal distinction for themselves

At the Yaksu-ri Co-operative there were unpaid taxes in kind carried over from the time of individual farming, and at present nobody even knows the whereabouts of all the defaulters of the taxes in kind. Yet, the county demanded unreasonably that the co-operative pay the back taxes in kind. This is like demanding compensation for a lost donkey from the person who has come to pull out the pole the donkey was tied to, simply because the man who stole the animal cannot be found. It is all very well for the chairman of the provincial or county people's committee to collect all the arrears of taxes

in kind carried over from the past and receive a letter of thanks, but does he not have to think of the hardship it causes the people?

Bureaucrats do not care about people, law or democracy. To draw up a plan of agricultural production, wide democratic discussions must be held among the co-operative members, and the projected plan should be approved by the county people's committee and passed at a general meeting of the co-operative members or at a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization. Then, the plan becomes a lawful document. No individual can change the plan at will. The bureaucrats, however, change the agricultural production plan as they like and arbitrarily force the co-operative members to do what is not provided for in the plan, causing them great losses. This is a flagrant violation of democracy and a disorderly act running counter to the law.

They instruct the peasants to plant industrial crops, and then do not purchase them in time, and so sugar beets, for example, are used for cattle feed. Since olden times, the cattle of our country have not been fed on sugar beets. There is no need to plant sugar beets just to feed cattle. In that case, it is only the peasants who suffer the loss, after all.

The county people's committee has no right to take manpower away at will from the agricultural co-operatives to use it here and there. The county people's committee chairman, however, acts like a king who ignores the law. He is always mobilizing manpower at will for constructing a school, building roads, and what not.

Mobilization of the labour force must also be done according to a plan. For example, if the Chongsan-*ri* Agricultural Co-operative is supposed to send out 50 work hands to some other branch this year, then some compensating measures should be taken, either by taking this fact into account in mapping out the production plan, or by socially mobilizing an equivalent number of people to help with the farm work in place of the absent 50 persons. What will become of agriculture if you simply take away work hands at will while taking no respon-

sibility for production? You assign huge production quotas, and keep on taking away work hands. And how do you expect them to fulfil the plan? If you mobilize manpower, you should do so when farm work is off season, or else you should take some sort of measures to make up for the mobilized work hands.

We have not formed agricultural co-operatives for the county to do what it likes with them in this way. Unless a decision is made by a general meeting of the co-operative members or a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization, nobody is allowed to change the co-operative's plan.

The question of thoroughly eliminating bureaucracy was already raised long ago. As early as February 1952 when the war was on, we energetically propounded this question, and later, at the April 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, we again discussed this question. Since then we have continued to struggle against bureaucracy. And why does the county Party committee tolerate such bureaucracy? As long as bureaucracy is as excessive as this, you cannot say that the county people's committee is working as a genuine people's power.

A genuine people's power should, first of all, bear responsibility for the socialist economy. And why does the county people's committee fail to endeavour to increase the profits of the co-operatives, to raise the living standard of the peasants and enhance their ideological consciousness?

Individuals were responsible for the economy at the time of individual farming, but in the socialist co-operative economy the management board and the county people's committee should bear the principal responsibility. There is no need for the county people's committee if it is not going to work responsibly to augment agricultural production and raise the living standard of the peasants.

There must be definite improvements in the work of the management board, as well as in the work of the county people's committee. As I have already mentioned this at the gen-

eral membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization, I will not repeat myself. In improving the work of the management board, too, it is important to do away with bureaucracy, cast aside the habit of doing things haphazardly by rule of thumb and strengthen the collective leadership of the management board.

Working without a plan is a big fault of the county people's committee and the management board, it could be said. The county people's committee and the management board are working for the most part without a plan. If there is a plan, it is no more than one devised subjectively by a few persons. It is not a plan formulated on the basis of a correct calculation of the means of production and manpower, but one drawn up on the basis of a subjective desire of the county people's committee chairman or a few other persons.

In his speech a little while ago, the chairman of the county people's committee said that the county imposed upon the *ri* the plans forced upon it by the province, but it should not be forgotten that the county had also submitted subjectively prepared plan estimates to the province. Of course, there are second bureaucrats sitting at the province, who not only fail to verify carefully what has been submitted by the counties, but also make further additions to it according to their own subjective desire and then send it down to the counties. Working under plans drawn up in this way is in no way different from working without a plan at all.

Not only in agriculture, but also in local industry work is done without a plan. In constructing a factory, calculations should also be made, to begin with, of the amount of money needed, of the amount of materials and manpower required, and detailed plans should be formulated as to where and how to get the materials and manpower.

Nevertheless, you try to build a factory without such a plan and, consequently, a host of problems arise. When the county people's committee chairman says he wants to build a local industry factory, the bank may advance a loan of money. Now, what is to be done with money only, if materials are

not obtainable? *Because materials are not available,* the timber intended for making carts is all used up and the bricks supplied for the construction of another factory are diverted to it

The country has a limited supply of materials and labour. If materials specified in the plan are diverted for another purpose, the result is that work cannot progress according to the plan. If you build houses with the timber intended for carts, it becomes impossible to make carts and, consequently, the transportation plan which has been drawn up in anticipation of the carts cannot be fulfilled either. As for manpower, too, you have no alternative but to take it away from the co-operatives, for you cannot go anywhere else to ask for it inasmuch as it is not included in the plan. Consequently, farming goes amiss. Since plans are all drawn up on a co-ordinated basis, if one target is not fulfilled, other work will be impeded to a great extent.

Thus, you have failed to make carts as instructed, making it impossible to settle the question of transportation, and you left the fields unattended, causing a great loss to grain production. *This is what it cost to build a local industry factory.* How, then, can it be said that you have done the right thing?

If you want to construct a local industry factory, you should plan it in advance. You should have an accurate plan and layout as to where manpower and materials will be obtained from on which site and on what scale and how it will be built.

Even when the state builds a factory, the State Construction Commission examines whether the factory site is suitable or not, if the plans as to materials, manpower and funds have been drawn up accurately, if the layout is correct, if work *is done according to the layout, and so on.*

In building a local industry factory, too, a careful investigation should be made, a detailed plan should be drawn up to build it well, and there should be inspection and control over the execution of the plan.

Under socialism, it is impossible to operate the [illegible] without a plan. The county should naturally have plans for

g, such as for agricultural production, for local in-
d for capital construction.

se plans should be worked out not according to any
al's subjective thinking, but on the basis of mass dis-
s. Agricultural production plans, for instance, should
wn up through broad discussions at general meetings of
ricultural co-operative members; then they should be co-
ated at the county level; finally they should be discussed
passed at the county Party committee and the county peo-
s committee. And those plans which need the approval of
province should be submitted to the province, and those
ich are subject to approval by the centre should be submitted
the centre. A plan mapped out in this way is a law, and it
hould be obligatorily carried out.

And organs and functionaries at all levels should have work plans. Since you work without any plan, you call meetings even at night whenever you feel like it and make noises as if something serious has turned up.

The county should draw up its own work plans, and should communicate to the *ri* what concerns the *ri* functionaries in the plans. Everybody should know what he is supposed to do, and when. Only then will he be able to make advance preparations and have the time to think it over. If you wake up people from their sleep at night for a meeting, how can the meeting ever go right? Is there not an old saying that the year's plan should be formulated in the spring and the day's plan, in the morning? Furthermore, how can we, who are living in socialist society today, work without a plan?

The plan the county has at present is one that has been prepared for form's sake to show people who come down from above for inspection. What good is it? We should resolutely combat the tendency to work without a plan in this way.

Our Party entrusted the county people's committee with the task of responsibly guiding the national economy in the county. The county Party committee, therefore, should naturally help and control the county people's committee to guide agriculture responsibly.

The county Party committee, however, has failed to give the proper guidance needed to correct the bureaucratic work style of the county people's committee functionaries through strong criticism and to improve the work of the people's committee in conformity to the new circumstances. Although the Party should play the leading role in all work, the county Party committee has failed in the discharge of its guidance function This, I think, is a great weakness in the South Pyongan Provincial Party organization.

Of course, there have also been notable achievements in the work of the county Party committee. That is, the county Party committee under the guidance of the Party centre has formed the ranks of the cadres with the nuclei of the Party. It is not because bad people are ensconced in the county Party committee or in the county people's committee, or because *ri* Party committee chairmen, co-operative chairmen, primary Party committee chairmen or workteam leaders are bad people, that various shortcomings are revealed at present. Their records, too, show that they are mostly comrades who have been faithful to the Party in the past and have long been fighting for the implementation of the Party policy. In other words, it can be said that the ranks of Party nuclei have been formed with good comrades. We saw this from the talks we had with cadres of the county Party committee for a few days, and also sensed the same thing in the course of attending a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization

The county Party committee, however, has failed to work properly with the nuclei who have been united in this way. The departments of the county Party committee have not been roused to full activity, and the work with the county people's committee and with the social organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and trade unions has not been conducted in a proper manner.

Like the county people's committee, the county Party committee, too, has failed to reorganize its work in keeping with the new, changed circumstances

What are the new circumstances? The county Party com-

mittee's guidance is concerned primarily with rural Party organizations. And since the countryside has been entirely transformed on socialist lines, all peasants have become collectivized, socialist working people and all Party members in the rural areas have come to work in a collectivized, socialist agriculture. In other words, all peasants have become builders of socialism, and our Party members are now working among the peasants who are working and living in a socialist way.

Unlike the time of individual farming, everything is now being done collectively. Particularly, the peasants, like the workers, have for a long time participated in collective labour for the realization of irrigation and electrification, and thus have got tempered. And as the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization are successfully carried out, a great change is taking place in the labour and entire life of the peasants. The technical standard of the peasants has risen, and so has their level of consciousness.

The merger of the co-operatives with the *ri* as the unit has brought about a still greater change in the life of the peasantry. With the extension of the scope of the co-operative economy, the scale of co-operation of people in production has become greater and the economic life of the co-operative has become more complex.

The whole life of man changes primarily with the change in his working life. Since such a great change has taken place in the peasants' working life as compared with the time of individual farming, the consciousness of people has changed and so has their way of life. Accordingly, the methods of leading those people should also be changed.

What, then, is the change the new circumstances specifically call for in the work of our county Party committee? First, from the viewpoint of the Party organizational system, the county Party committee should become the terminal leading body under the present conditions where the *ri*, merged into a co-operative, has become a production unit, even though our Party's terminal leading body was at the sub-county or *ri* level before. After the Party centre, the provincial Party com-

mittee, and the county Party committee there is only the production unit.

The *ri* Party organization has the character of the primary Party organization at the production unit. Therefore, the county Party committee should not just send down decisions and directives to the *ri* Party committees and remain collecting statistics. Its functionaries should personally go down to the *ri* Party committees and organize work for them, and directly conduct educational work, too.

The county Party committee, asserting its own importance as a leading body, wants to create a large number of departments. That is wrong, however. Now it requests the establishment of industrial and agricultural departments, pleading that it is short of departments, and for some time has even been suggesting that a department for co-operative organizations be created. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee, however, has not approved it.

In my opinion, this seems unnecessary. It will do well for the organizational department to take care of all personnel affairs. If the agricultural department of the county Party committee deals with the rural cadres, the organizational department will have nothing to do. The county people's committee will take care of the work of directly organizing and operating the economy. What is the use of industrial and agricultural departments as long as they do not take upon themselves the job of the county people's committee? It is advisable to select and place three economic instructors at the county Party committee, one with economic knowledge enough to deal with finance and planning, another versed in industry and yet another familiar with agriculture, and let them work directly under the county Party committee chairman to assist him in technical and economic matters.

What is the important task of the county Party committee? It is to firmly build up the *ri* Party organizations at the production units, always educate the Party members in Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary traditions of the Party, and bring the Party policy home to the Party members, sc

mittee's guidance is concerned primarily with rural Party organizations. And since the countryside has been entirely transformed on socialist lines, all peasants have become collectivized, socialist working people and all Party members in the rural areas have come to work in a collectivized, socialist agriculture. In other words, all peasants have become builders of socialism, and our Party members are now working among the peasants who are working and living in a socialist way.

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and meet the agitators and, together with them, organize reading sessions and give lectures for the masses.

Only by so doing will they be able to get a clear idea of the masses' level and effectively conduct educational work in a language intelligible to the masses. If they fail to do so and simply call up the *ri* Party committee chairmen or summon the agitators to give them instructions or short courses and *send them back, things will always be done perfunctorily* and the Party policy will not get to the masses. In guiding the local industry factories, too, the county Party committee instructors will do well to go down personally and conduct work just as in the case of guiding the *ri* Party organizations.

This alone will enable the county Party committee to know the cadres of the *ri* Party organizations well through work, educate them and have the core elements in hand.

At present the *ri* Party committees do not know well how matters stand with the workteams in their own *ri*, and the county Party committee is even more ignorant of the affairs at the *ri*.

The county Party committee should have full command of the cadres of the *ri*. Each instructor of the organizational department should take charge of a definite number of *ri* and guide them at all times. Suppose the organizational department has five instructors and the county has 20 *ri*, then each instructor should be responsible for the guidance of four *ri*. If the organizational department does not have enough instructors, it would be wise to enlist instructors from the propaganda department.

Suppose a *ri* has 15-20 cadres who are Party members, such as the *ri* Party committee chairman, the co-operative chairman, the primary Party committee chairmen and others, then their number for four *ri* is no more than 60-80. If the instructor meets three comrades every day to have talks and give education, he can give concrete guidance to all cadres of the *ri* once a month. Then, the county can understand the cadres of the *ri* as well as they do their own palms and take the *ri* affairs in hand correctly.

Each instructor of the propaganda department should also take charge of several *ri*, always meet the propaganda workers of the *ri* and know and educate them, and endeavour to steadily raise their political level.

If the county Party committee does its job in this manner for some 3-4 years, it will be well acquainted not only with the cadres but also with all Party members of the *ri*, and will be able to develop more nuclei from among them.

If the number of core Party members grows in every *ri* and they play a vanguard role among the masses, a great change will take place in the work of the *ri* Party organizations as a whole, and the masses as a whole will become active.

The keystone of Party work is work with the cadres. It is of prime importance to know and educate the cadres all the time and develop large numbers of nuclei.

At present, however, the county Party committee takes upon itself the administrative work that properly belongs to the county people's committee, and its organizational and propaganda departments play the role of a documents section whose function it is to compile statistics and prepare reports.

We should ensure the work of the county people's committee by bringing its Party members into action. How can the county Party committee, which has a much smaller staff than the county people's committee, take upon itself the work of the latter? As for compiling statistics, it is also good to compile only those which essentially belong to the Party's functions and to leave the others to the county people's committee.

There is no need at all to prepare many kinds of statistics and reports. It is necessary to give practical guidance so as to be able to grasp the actual conditions at lower units without reading the reports. At present, however, the province harasses the comrades at lower units by incessantly urging them to make reports which it does not even glance at, leaving them no time to attend to their proper jobs. I have heard that last year you worked out and submitted 63 reports and 24 kinds of statistics to the provincial Party committee. That is all unnec-

essary, however. All that is required is to submit statistics on Party members once a year; matters that need to be reported regularly, too, primarily concern inner-Party affairs such as admission to and expulsion from the Party; and the rest will be cases when something especially serious has happened and you need to inform the upper body about it. There is no need to report in writing all such things as could just as well be communicated verbally or by telephone.

The useless paper work should be dropped. However hard one may try it is impossible to increase production with a pencil at a desk. The thing is to give concrete guidance to stir the masses to action. Perfunctoriness should be renounced and work should be done in a substantial manner.

To strengthen the work of the county Party committee, it is essential to give precedence to political work in every matter. Precedence for political work is always required in carrying out an important revolutionary task, be it the development of agriculture or of local industry.

Quite a few comrades take the precedence of politics merely to mean holding conferences or organizing lecture meetings when a task is raised. Indeed, holding conferences to discuss the task and organizing lecture meetings to explain the Party policy to the masses are all political work and important ways of giving priority to politics. But this alone is not enough.

To keep politics ahead of other things, it is necessary, first of all, to give the functionaries of the county Party committee and the county people's committee and the Party members on the farms and at the local industry factories a thorough understanding of the essence of the immediate revolutionary task set forth by our Party and the ways of carrying it out.

And the Party members should be induced to discuss in full more concrete methods of implementation of the task, go among the masses to explain the Party policy and bring it home to them, and widely discuss with the masses the concrete ways of fulfilling the task. On the basis of such discussions, detailed assignments should be given to each Party member.

In short, precedence of politics means bringing all the

Party members and the masses to thoroughly understand the Party policy, have mass discussions about the ways of carrying out the revolutionary tasks and to be actively mobilized for the implementation of the revolutionary task with a high degree of political awakening.

All work can be carried out only when the masses are on the move. The reason why the masses remain inactive is that they do not know the Party policy well and lack a correct understanding of the guiding principle in their action.

Orders and instructions alone cannot bring the masses into action. Nothing can be attained as long as you only force it upon them in an administrative way without fully explaining the meaning of the revolutionary task ahead and without teaching them clear-cut ways of implementing it.

In Party work administrative methods should not be applied, but the methods of persuasion and education should be used under all circumstances. The main reason for unsatisfactory work now is that the county Party committee does its work in an administrative way, arbitrarily dictating the masses without caring whether or not they understand.

Since our Party is the advanced detachment which fights for the interests of the masses, it should become a model for the masses, persuade and educate them and stir them up to carry out the Party's policy.

To set Party members into action, they should always be given assignments and educated in accordance with their levels. As long as a Party member is not given a Party assignment, he cannot fulfil the role of a Party member and is detached from Party work. A Party member, therefore, must be given a specific Party assignment, even if it is not a big task, and must be tested, tempered and educated through its execution.

Education of Party members should be concrete. It is improper to force a comrade who is shy of working by saying: "Work hard, comrade! See?" It is advisable that you, taking into full consideration the level of consciousness, environment, character, taste, etc., of the person you are dealing with, teach

him point by point, beginning with simple matters and then gradually turning to complex matters Since the basic aims of education are to rouse Party members to the revolutionary struggle, education must always be conducted in connection with the immediate revolutionary tasks, in connection with the merits and shortcomings of their actual deeds.

Another thing I want to mention is that the county Party committee should strengthen collective leadership. If the county Party committee and its executive committee are to fulfil their roles properly, they must strengthen the system of consultation so that collective wisdom may be enlisted in all work.

When a decision or instructions of an upper Party body are received, an executive committee meeting or a consultative meeting of the county Party committee should be called, and the contents of the decision or instructions and the concrete ways of putting them into effect in accordance with the actual conditions of the county should be discussed. If the task concerns mainly the county people's committee, a meeting of the Party organization of the county people's committee should be called and collective discussions should be held again. Following that, a county people's committee meeting should be held to discuss the co-ordinated opinions, the Party policy should be explained and brought home to all the masses, regardless of whether they are Party members or not, the concrete ways of struggle should be taught and assignments given to them in order to commence work immediately.

After the county people's committee has organized work in this way, the county Party committee should go down to the *ri* to make sure the work is done. The county Party committee should thoroughly explain the substance of the task and the ways of its fulfilment to its instructors and send them down to the *ri* to explain clearly, together with the *ri* Party committee chairman, the content of the revolutionary task and the ways of carrying it out to all the Party members in the *ri*

This the county Party committee chairman cannot manage all by himself. The Party committee which is a body of collective leadership should get into action and so should

its executive committee. All functionaries of the county Party committee should be brought into action.

Yet another important thing is the intensification of education in the Party policy to raise the cadres' level of guidance. To guide the masses, it is necessary to have an adequate knowledge of the Party policy so as to be able to tell them about what they do not know and always show them the right path to follow. And you should learn ways of coping with complex problems correctly in accordance with the Party policy when they appear.

Only when the instructors of the county Party committee go down to the *ri* and assist the *ri* Party committee chairman in his work, and have the ability to correctly solve the complex problems which the *ri* Party committee is unable to settle, will they be able to play the role of an instructor in the true sense of the word. At present, county Party committee instructors fail to give much help to the *ri* Party committee in its work.

The most important way of raising the level of the instructors is to acquaint them well with the intentions of the Party centre by exhaustively explaining to them, in the first place, the decisions and instructions of the Party Central Committee. The Party policy is always the guiding principle of our action and the criterion to tell right from wrong. If you know the Party policy well, you can tell what conforms to the Party policy and what does not in the course of guiding the work down at the *ri*, and show the right direction to the masses.

How can it be said that an instructor is qualified as such if he, who is supposed to have come down to give guidance, fails to answer when he is asked about the Party policy, and to give a clear-cut answer when he is asked to tell right from wrong when some kind of problem arises?

Since our revolution is developing every day, our thinking, too, makes progress and so does the Party policy. The Party centre studies the continuously developing realities of our country and frames new policies to suit them.

Our Party's policy is an application of Marxism-Leninism

to our country's realities. One can neither write, nor guide work without studying our Party's policies, no matter how many Marxist-Leninist books he may have read.

The instructors should study the Party policy systematically and know a new policy in good time whenever it is set forth by the Party. A good knowledge of the Party policy is essential to broadening one's mental vision, to finding the right way of looking at things, and carrying on one's work with conviction and daring.

The instructors of the Party Central Committee are on a higher level than the comrades at the county Party committees not because they have been chosen from among those who were county Party committee chairmen. Among them are comrades who were county Party committee chairmen before, but there are many who were not. The instructors of the Party Central Committee are on a higher level than the functionaries of the county Party committees because they are well aware of the intentions of the Party centre.

The Party centre sums up the experience of all the activities of our Party, but the county Party committees have only the experience of work within the county limits. True, it is natural for the functionaries of the county Party committees to have a broader view of things than the *ri* cadres who are in charge of the work of the *ri*, since the county Party committees sum up the experience of work on the county level. But if we do not discuss and study the Party policy every day, we shall become ignorant of even the experience of the county level, to say nothing of the experience of the struggle of the entire Party, and shall eventually find our perspectives too narrow to lead the cadres of the *ri*.

At present the Party centre pays great attention to the education of the instructors. The Party leadership promptly acquaints the instructors with the Party policy.

Before, persons such as Pak Chang Ok ensconced in the Party leadership used to tell only what they copied from foreign newspapers and magazines without making the Party policy known, and so education of the instructors was unsatis-

factory. Even in writing an article, they used difficult terms and marshalled many propositions of various kinds. To the uninitiated eye, such an article appears to be impressive, but, in fact, it is hollow and empty. It amounts to making noises merely with empty words without the least knowledge of the substance of Marxism, and is tantamount to licking only the rind of a watermelon without so much as tasting its meat to find out whether it is sweet or bitter. What good is it to play with words using difficult terms without knowing our Party's policy when all our work is associated with our revolution? Those who do not know Party policy and the substance of their own work, have no view to call their own, after all, and so they dogmatically copy from others, thereby prejudicing the work. In a word, they are persons who lack *Juche.*

What we call *Juche* means doing everything in accordance with the actual conditions of our country and creatively applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to suit our realities.

It is the duty of the Korean Communists to carry out the Korean revolution well in conformity to the actual conditions of our country, and that is our way of making a contribution to the world communist movement. Our task is to build socialism in our country and develop its politics, economy and culture for the welfare and prosperity of our people. And how can he who is ignorant of his society, his people, the history and the revolutionary and cultural traditions of his own country, carry out the revolution in a way congenial to his country? And how can he who slights his own things and only praises others' develop his own things?

Once some artists offered to throw away our national musical instruments, saying that they were uncivilized and undeveloped and that it was even impossible to use the musical notation for them. We severely criticized such a view. The Party's policy on literature and art was not carried out properly because a person such as Pak Chang Ok who praised only foreign things was entrenched in the Propaganda Department. Our national musical instruments perfectly suit the

sentiments of our people. So why should we discard them? And it is also untenable to assert that the national musical instruments of Korea cannot be fitted to musical notation. The trouble lies in the wrong ideological viewpoint of making light of our national art.

How can a person who is said to be engaged in the Korean revolution do his own thinking as master of his own revolution if he does not proceed from the actual realities of Korea, and belittles his own things and only copies from others? If one acquires the habit of only copying from others, he will eventually find himself totally devoid of his own thought and will also lose the ability of developing new ideas. Suppose a lazy pupil does not write a composition himself, but always has somebody else write one for him because he dislikes composition, the result will be that he will always be unable to write a composition. The same is true of our revolutionary work. As long as one relies on others and only copies from them without establishing *Juche* in his work, he can display no creative initiative.

Since the question of *Juche* was put forward, a change has taken place in the people's way of thinking. Everybody is now doing his work in accordance with the actual conditions he finds himself in, and so tremendous creative initiative which was formerly unimaginable is now displayed.

We should educate the cadres and members of the Party in such a way as to enable them to display creative initiative. They should have a good knowledge of the Party policy and be able to advance their work by thinking independently when carrying out their assigned tasks. A *ri* Party committee chairman should be able to carry on his job independently in accordance with the Party policy even when he is given no direct guidance and assistance from the county Party committee.

While sending down instructors to the *ri* to constantly help the *ri* Party committee chairmen in their work, the county Party committee chairman should meet the *ri* Party committee chairmen often to acquaint them with the Party policy and initiate them into methods of work.

Further, the responsible workers of the county Party committee should teach work methods well to the instructors. When they have the instructors write a report or a notice, they must also give them an orientation as to how it should be written. If they fail to write well, even after all that, they should kindly teach them by doing the writing themselves. Yet, a certain department chief is said to have rejected a paper written by an instructor as many as ten times without even touching it up once. If that is the case, the instructors cannot make progress.

The county Party committee chairman should make a good study of the commentaries on the Party policy carried in the *Rodong Sinmun, Kunroja, Tangsaenghwal*, etc., and should not keep its knowledge to himself, but should often call the instructors and acquaint them kindly with it before they go down to the *ri*.

The county Party committee chairmen themselves should make unremitting efforts to improve their qualifications. The county Party committee chairman must review his work and generalize his experience. Although the county Party committee chairman does a great deal of work, he fails to make rapid progress because he does not analyse it nor generalize his experience. He should generalize his own experience and publish it in the daily paper of the province or in the metropolitan newspapers; and as for the review reports, the chairman must write them himself on all accounts. The reports should reflect what he is thinking. He must personally write down the contents of the reports, though he may possibly leave the polishing of the wording to his subordinates. This is essential, for it will make him reflect profoundly on the work he has done; and his political and theoretical level will rise and his ability to write will grow because he is naturally obliged to study Party documents more deeply and also to read reference books if he is to write something.

As long as the county Party committee chairman or the county people's committee chairman does not personally prepare for important meetings, but leaves the preparation of

reports and resolutions to others, the meetings cannot be successful and the merits and shortcomings in work cannot be summed up properly. This is all a trite method of work practised by bureaucrats in the past.

In general, the work of theoretically analysing and synthesizing the tasks one has accomplished leaves much to be desired. That is why no lively theoretical debate has developed as to how to apply the Party policy to one's work. To raise the theoretical level of cadres and Party members, an atmosphere should be created of holding lively discussions on the Party policy in connection with their jobs. In the course of such discussions we will develop a profound theoretical knowledge of the Party policy and be able to rid our work of dogmatism. When we first launched the communist movement, we used to have very heated discussions. Through the discussions we firmly established our own views.

All the work we are now engaged in is revolutionary work. It is not an easy task to carry out the Party policy in accordance with the actual conditions of one's own locality. If we endeavour to make a profound study of the Party policy and do our work better, many questions will arise. We must always resolve these questions through discussions, and determine the correct line of action by enlisting collective wisdom.

At present you do not make good use of the newspapers. When we were fighting the Japanese imperialists before, newspapers were very hard to obtain When we got a newspaper in those days, we had repeated discussions on the editorial or the like and conducted education with it for a long time. Newspapers merely piled up on the desk will be of no help in our work.

To strengthen the work of the county Party committee, it is necessary to efficiently activate social organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and the trade unions. The Democratic Youth League and the trade unions are organizations which all assist our Party. Such working people's organizations play an important role in linking the Party with the masses.

The Democratic Youth League organizations play a gre
part especially in the countryside. There are many comrad
among the Democratic Youth League members who have
strong revolutionary and class spirit as the Party memb
and are very loyal to our Party. These comrades are c
nuclei. These activists should be energetically mobilized for t
fulfilment of revolutionary tasks. It is very good not only
impel the enthusiasm of youth for production, but also acti
ly mobilize them to carry out the cultural revolution. It
necessary to encourage the activity of the Democratic Yo
League organizations properly in elevating the technical
educational levels of youth and in intensifying their commu
education.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about
intensification of communist education of our Party mem
I shall not recapitulate the content of communist educa
here because I have already spoken about it many times.
should endeavour to acquire not only Marxist-Leninist the
but also the revolutionary spirit and moral qualities befi
a Communist.

ber Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and strengthen the guidance of agriculture, thus bringing about a new, great advancement in the production of grain and other agricultural produce.

I wish you new, great success not only in inner-Party work and in the guidance of the people's committee, but also in the struggle for the development of our national economy following the present meeting.

general meeting, we saw to it that the *ri* Party committee had a full and collective discussion about it and made it thoroughly known in advance to the primary Party organizations and all Party members. Consequently, all the Party members, already ideologically mobilized through the sub-unit meetings and the general meetings of the Party organizations, attended the *ri* Party general meeting with a clear understanding of what defects were to be pointed out and what tasks for remedying them would be set forth at the meeting, and everyone could express his views without reserve. The report to the general meeting was prepared personally by the *ri* Party committee chairman with the scrupulous help of the comrades of the guidance group and, as a result, it turned out to be an accurate and analytical report. Thus, the arrangements for the general meeting of the *ri* Party organization were made rather satisfactorily.

Until then, in many instances the general meetings of the Party organization in this *ri* were also arranged and conducted in a perfunctory manner. As often as not, tasks sent down by the centre by way of the provincial and county Party committees were mechanically imposed at the meetings. Meetings would be called without preparing the Party members ideologically, the *ri* Party committee chairman would deliver a report that was his own brain child, and a few people would make prepared speeches, which is then followed by passing resolutions through without let or hindrance. That was all. Nothing will come of meetings of this kind, no matter how often they are held.

It is necessary to hold substantive Party meetings in order to adopt concrete decisions consistent with local conditions on the basis of synthesizing the constructive suggestions of the Party members and to bring into play their conscious enthusiasm. Therefore, we began by teaching them clearly how to hold a really fruitful, and not a perfunctory, Party meeting. All meetings held in the *ri* and county during our guidance served as patterns of intensive, substantial, and well-arranged meetings.

Drawing on the experience gained in the course of our guidance of Chongsan-*ri*, we chose another six *ri* in the county,

which we continued to guide. We called a consultative meeting of the county Party organization with the participation of all comrades of the guidance group, the cadres of those *ri* and the officials of the county Party committee for the purpose of summing up the data obtained while guiding the work of the *ri* Party organizations. At this meeting we heard reports and exchanged views on the results of the guidance of Party work in Kosan-*ri*, Taesong-*ri* and Yaksu-*ri*. As a result, it was thoroughly revealed that as regards Party work and farming, other villages had exactly the same shortcomings as those found in Chongsan-*ri*. This confirmed the complete validity of the conclusion we had drawn after our guidance of the work of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization. Inasmuch as every *ri* showed common defects and its causes were similar, we could put forward the same corrective tasks and at the consultative meeting we could also outline the direction for the county Party committee to take in guiding the *ri* Party organizations.

Meanwhile, the general meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee was held successfully. Instructors and cadres of the county Party committee debated the work of the committee earnestly. Every instructor could criticize the department heads, vice-chairmen and chairman and boldly bring all defects to light. As a result, the meeting defined all the more clearly the concrete ways and means of improving the work of the county Party committee.

On the basis of holding a general meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee and a consultative meeting of the county Party organization in this way, it was arranged that a plenary meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee be held This was also attended by the chairmen of all county Party committees in South Pyongan Province.

The plenary meeting was to make a profound analysis of the shortcomings that had been revealed thus far in the work of the Party organizations in Kangso County, and gathering all the valuable views put forward by the Party members and masses at various meetings, take measures for a radical improvement of the Party's organizational and ideological work as well as of

its guidance to government bodies and its work of economic guidance.

We assisted the chairman of the county Party committee in personally drawing up the report to the plenary meeting, and we saw to it that all the expected participants at the meeting were informed beforehand of the articles of the draft resolution. Thanks to such arrangements and ideological mobilization, the plenary meeting of the county Party committee also proved a big success.

We took steps to make thoroughly known to all the *ri* in this county, including those to which no guidance group had been sent, the conclusion drawn at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization and the resolutions adopted at the plenary meeting of the county Party committee.

Brief though the time was—no more than 15 days—the results of our guidance work have been very great. These results were achieved not because the guidance group members ran about busily, but because they gave ear to the voices of a large section of Party members and the masses and brought their creative zeal into full play. Such results can hardly be accomplished if, as has been the case hitherto in the county Party committee and *ri* Party organizations, Party functionaries only bluster at people without knowing the actual state of affairs and feelings of the masses, and perfunctorily call one meeting after another at which people gather, raise their hands without really understanding what is being discussed, and then disperse.

We ourselves, too, learned a great deal in the course of guiding the work of the Kangso County Party Committee. We came to know more exactly what is hindering the masses from being accurately informed of the Party's policies, and why the tasks put forth by the central authority are not properly solved at lower levels. Unless we remove the root causes of these defects, we can neither satisfactorily implement the decisions of the Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held last December nor can scale the eminence of socialism at an early date.

Now, let me tell you what the successes and defects in the work of the Kangso County Party Committee were and what lessons we have drawn in the course of our recent guidance.

Since the Third Party Congress great changes have taken place in our Party work as a whole—from the centre down to the city and county Party organizations. Particularly, great advances have been made in eradicating dogmatism and formalism and establishing *Juche*, as well as in improving the methods of Party work.

Our Party work began to develop in conformity with the demands of the Korean revolution and the specific realities of the country. Our Party members gradually became able to take an independent view of the problems of our revolution and construction and to deal with them in keeping with our own actual situation, instead of trying to follow others blindly as they had done previously. We are people who are making the Korean revolution and have undertaken a mission to contribute, by so doing, to the world revolution. Therefore, in order to fight in the van of the Korean revolutionary movement, we must know, before anything else, about Korea, about the history and the realities of our country and know how to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism properly to the realities of Korea. This our Party members have become firmly aware of. That, we can say, is a tremendous achievement.

Also, since the Third Party Congress, the Party's ideological system has gradually been established among Party members. Particularly, in the course of the struggle to expose and smash the anti-Party factionalists, their Party spirit was tempered as never before and the unity of ideas and will in the Party was cemented It is not too much to say that the intentions of the Party centre have been grasped by all Party members and the masses, and that the whole Party has never been so closely united around the Central Committee with such a singleness of will and purpose as today and that never before has our Party enjoyed such unqualified prestige among the people as today.

Considerable results have also been attained in the work of

class education. Our Party members can now clearly distinguish friend from foe, their consciousness of hating the enemy and defending their class interests has been enhanced. The spirit of waging uncompromising, principled struggles against any phenomenon contrary to their class interests is prevailing. A Party member living in Yaksu-*ri* was severely criticized at a Party meeting for having been treated to a dinner at the home of a rogue, a former member of the "peace maintenance corps," and thus become indebted to him, and another Party member was criticized by his comrades for manifesting bourgeois ideology when he rented a room to a visitor to the spa. All this helps to raise Party members' class consciousness.

The Party members and the masses of the people have also become highly vigilant against counterrevolutionaries. Fearing the watchful eyes of the people, those who seek to calumniate our Party and do harm to our system find it difficult to operate at present.

By and large, the revolutionary mass viewpoint has also been established among our Party members. Anyone who abuses the authority of the Party or infringes upon the interests of the masses is called to task severely for it. Party members are now deeply conscious that they can serve the revolution only when they become faithful servants of the masses because the revolution is for the good of the masses and it can be accomplished only by relying on the strength of the masses.

The zeal of the Party members to continue the revolutionary traditions of our Party is likewise high. Whenever they encounter difficulties, they recall how revolutionary forerunners fought against Japanese imperialism in the face of all difficulties and hardships, from which they derive strength and courage. Today every Party member constantly steels his Party spirit, taking as his model the ideas, style of work and moral traits of the anti-Japanese guerrillas who explored the path for the restoration of the fatherland at the cost of their blood.

The positions of Party nuclei have been built up to a considerable extent. The cadres at county and *ri* levels are very sound. In all Party organizations the core ranks are made up of

reliable comrades of good social origin, who have served the Party and the revolution from the time of the agrarian reform and who fought valiantly during the time of retreat, never yielding to the enemy.

Members of bereaved families of patriotic martyrs who remained faithful to the revolution till they died on the scaffold at the hands of the enemy; peasants who, camouflaging themselves, ploughed the fields by moonlight in their devoted endeavours to increase grain production during the war despite enemy bombings; ex-servicemen who, at the risk of their lives, fought for the fatherland in the battles to rout the aggressors —they are all fine people who can develop into nuclei of our Party. The core of Party organizations at all levels is made up of such comrades who are true to the Party and the revolution, and this constitutes our important asset and guarantee of victory. The anti-Party manoeuvrings of Ko Bong Gi and his ilk to give prominence to the "influential gentry," and to rely on them for work in the rural districts, have been totally crushed.

As you see, we have scored really great achievements in our Party work.

Then, why is it that a number of defects still find expression in our work? The unity of the Party has been strengthened, people have learned how to distinguish friend from foe, bureaucracy is much less in evidence than before, everyone is eager to inherit the revolutionary traditions, and ranks of cadres are composed of stable comrades. For all this, why does our Party work still fall short of the level required by the Party Central Committee?

There are two major reasons. One is that educational work is still so poor that Party members have an insufficient understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party, and the other is that organizational work has been done unsatisfactorily with the result that each Party member cannot work actively.

Our Party members are now all eager to work, upholding the Party centre, but the fact is that they do not know how

to work and, therefore, fail in their work. Their enthusiasm and spirit are very high, but they are not acquainted with principles and methods, hence the clumsy outcome of their work. Our Party members and cadres can carry out the directives from above in a mechanical way, but they are unable to analyse things independently in accordance with the line laid down by the centre and to carry on their work to suit their specific conditions.

And the role played by each Party member is inadequate because Party assignments are not given in a scrupulous manner. A Party member, whoever he may be, must always fulfil his duties as required by the Party Rules. For this, the conscious efforts of Party members are most essential, but the proper assignment of work to them is also necessary. All Party members should be enlisted in Party work and each member roused to constant activity. The leading and guiding role of our Party can be assured as it should be only when all its members, without exception, play a vanguard role in the revolution and construction.

We have also achieved tremendous results in the economic sphere since the Third Party Congress. We have completed the co-operativization of agriculture and completely reorganized private trade and industry throughout the country; and built local industry extensively, thereby even drawing a large number of housewives into production. Now there is no one who exploits others, all have become socialist working people.

In a short space of time following the war, we completely rehabilitated the ruined national economy and laid the foundations for industrialization, and we are successfully carrying on the technical revolution in the countryside.

In Kangso County, for instance, irrigation has been completed in the main and electricity has reached every *ri*. Each home has a wire-broadcast receiving set and many have radios. Mechanization has made considerable progress. The county now has 45 tractors, and will have another 100 this year. This will ease the manpower shortage and lay a solid foundation for the speedy development of agriculture. In addition, the county has

built a base for stockbreeding which it did not have before, and gained a wealth of experience in applying advanced methods of intensive farming, including the cold-frame rice seedling method.

Till now we have also built many dwellings and attained great successes in carrying out the cultural revolution. Chongsan-ri village alone keeps two schools, and junior middle school education has been made compulsory there. A number of local-industry factories have also been built, with the result that the county which previously had only two factories runs ten at present, turning out a variety of goods.

We have thus made great progress in the economic field in a brief span of time. Yet the economic work, too, is far below the level required by the Party Central Committee. Why? The reason here, too, is that functionaries suffer from a low level of preparedness, not because they are bad people. They are very eager to work, but owing to their lack of a correct understanding of the Party's economic policy and of knowledge of how to manage a planned economy, they only disperse their work, failing to grasp the main link, and achieve little success though they keep themselves busy.

In the final analysis, Party work does not go well because our Party members lack proper knowledge of Marxist-Leninist principles and of work methods, and economic work is not carried on successfully because our functionaries know little of the economy and technology. The basic cause is the same, I should say.

Considering that the Party's organizational and political lines are all correct, its economic policy is likewise correct and the people, upholding the Party's lines, are all working hard to carry out its policy, the only trouble is the low level of our functionaries. The cadres' knowledge and ability are too poor to cope with the tasks facing them. Is this an accident? No. It is an inevitable outcome of the unusually rapid rate of our economic development.

Our national economy has a very high rate of progress. What we have accomplished in economic construction in the

six years after the war could hardly be achieved even in scores of years under the capitalist system. We have advanced in a spirit of taking ten steps while others take one.

Our economy has developed in this way, but we can hardly expect people's knowledge and capacities to improve as rapidly. A large number of specialists and technicians with higher learning are required if we are to run successfully such modern industry and large-scale co-operative farming as we have today, but we are in great need of such personnel. And it takes four or five years to complete the college course. Industrial output can soar 40 odd per cent a year, but it is almost impossible for a man to learn in one year what needs five years to learn. We shall be content only when all cadres acquire the knowledge equivalent to a college graduate, but unlike other things, this is something that can hardly be attained in a year or two.

Of course, it is true that our Party, since immediately after liberation, has devoted much effort to overcoming the shortage of technical personnel and even during the war, it did not leave off the training of cadres for a moment, and has already trained a great many. And last year, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee decided to set up many more colleges and took appropriate measures. That was a timely step, we can say. But not yet enough, we are now studying the question of setting up technical colleges in large factories and on large farms to enable the workers to study while working.

However, these measures alone are insufficient to solve the problem. We cannot remain idle for four or five years, waiting for specialists and technicians to issue forth. Then what is to be done? What should we do to cope with the situation at a time when the level of knowledge of our functionaries fails to catch up with the comparatively high level of our economy, when there are still many who have just rid themselves of illiteracy? The basic solution, of course, would be to promote the cultural revolution vigorously, but at this moment, how are we to overcome this bottleneck which constitutes the root cause of all shortcomings in our work? The reorganization of our sys-

tem of work and the improvement of our guidance methods are the only way out, I think.

It will be many years before every cadre at the *ri* level has attained the standard of a specialized school graduate, and every cadre at the county level that of a college graduate. Therefore, we must break through the immediate bottleneck by establishing an appropriate work system whereby the centre helps the province, the province helps the county, and the county helps the *ri*. In particular, it is necessary radically to improve the method of the county's guidance to the *ri*.

Owing to our changed circumstances, it has become an ever more urgent demand to improve the system of work and the methods of guidance. In the rural *ri*, entirely new circumstances have been created now, while the cadres there lack experience and ability. As a result of the completion of co-operativization and the establishment of the socialist system in the countryside, everyone now works together on the co-operatives, whereas in the past all the peasants, including Party members, lived within the bounds of the private economy. This has given rise to the need for a change in the peasants' ideological consciousness, the need for guidance of the co-operative economy by cadres fully armed with communist consciousness.

At present, most of the cadres of each *ri* are people who have been selected from among the local peasants. They are all good comrades, but they are still too immature politically, ideologically and practically to educate the peasants in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty morality of collectivism and to build up the large-scale socialist economy successfully Therefore, in my opinion, there is no other way than for the cadres at a higher level, the county cadres, personally to visit the *ri* and educate the peasants, organize and mobilize them for the implementation of the Party's policy, and aid in the work of the *ri*.

The material and technical foundations of agriculture have also been considerably strengthened Formerly, only hoes and sickles were used, but today pumps are operating everywhere and tractors are working the rice paddies and dry fields This

demands the high cultural and technical levels of the peasants, and requires technicians to undertake technical guidance at agricultural co-operatives. With the promotion of the technical revolution in the countryside, this demand will become still more pressing. But our agricultural co-operatives have few technicians. Therefore, the technicians at the county should personally go down to the co-operatives, help the peasants raise their technical level and assist them in farming. There is no other alternative.

As a result of the merging of co-operatives, the *ri* has become a big unit of agricultural production and the work of the *ri* has become complex and diversified. In the past, each household possessing one or two *chongbo* of land constituted a farming unit, but now the farming unit is the agricultural co-operative of each *ri* embracing an average of 500 *chongbo* or more of land and over 300 peasant households. Formerly, each peasant managed his own husbandry, but now we cannot go a step forward unless the *ri* directly manages and operates this large-scale economy in a planned way. The co-operative economy can fully display its advantages only when we carry out such planned management well. But our *ri* cadres are quite at a loss what to do with a mountain of work at hand, because they have little experience in the management of a planned economy and lack a knowledge of economics and have a low level of preparedness.

There is now tremendous work to be done in the *ri*. It is very complex—producing much grain, growing industrial crops, raising livestock, breeding fresh-water fish, conducting trade, carrying out the technical and the cultural revolution and so on and so forth.

How can we expect success, if all this is left only to the chairman of the *ri* people's committee or to a few members of the management board of the co-operative? These days, matters are such that no one goes to the *ri* personally to organize, teach and aid in its work, but all visit there with brief cases under their arms, each of whom only demands or directs, "Have you applied much compost?" "How have you built pigsties?"

"Why don't you do fish breeding?" "Why doesn't the procurement work go smoothly?" "How is housing construction going on?" "How about health and hygienic work?" "Build the school quickly!" "Run art circles!" and so on and so forth. Many "dignitaries" such as management bureau directors, section chiefs, and chairmen flock to the *ri*, each acting as a taskmaster and only harassing the *ri* people's committee chairman. How can he alone deal with all this?

Guidance methods should be corrected decisively. Though new circumstances have been created, the work system has not yet been reorganized to suit them. How then should we reorganize the system of work and improve the methods of guidance?

First of all, the work system of the county people's committees should be reorganized. The question cannot be solved as long as the county people's committee "guides" the *ri* only by frequently sending down official dispatches, only by issuing directives to do this and that and demanding statistics of all kinds. Any number of official dispatches and directives may be sent down to the *ri* to accumulate, but what is the use of them if the *ri* lacks the capacity to organize their fulfilment? Yet, we cannot bring forward the question of abolishing the county people's committees and allocating all their functionaries to the *ri* to strengthen its work force. It is almost impossible for every province directly to guide and control some *300 ri without the media of the counties.* Therefore, the only way out is for the personnel of the county people's committee to go to the *ri* and help its functionaries organize the work, instead of trying to give guidance while remaining in the county seat.

It is desirable that they personally go to the ri, have talks with the peasants, synthesize the opinions of the management board members of the co-operatives and draw up plans for them, instead of pressing them for plans which they do not know how to formulate. Only in this way can the management board members learn planning. They cannot learn it even in a hundred years if they are simply urged to map out

plans in a hurry, as is now being done. Workteam leaders, who cannot even do sums properly, should not be pressed to submit complicated statistics; you had better go down, grasp *the actual conditions and compile the statistics yourselves.* Instead of just telling them to organize labour rationally, it is better to go and do it for them.

In this way the county people's committee should responsibly organize the work of the *ri* on all those questions concerned with continually developing the productive forces and promoting the technical revolution in the countryside, increasing the incomes of the peasants and improving their living standards, carrying out the cultural revolution, defending the gains of the socialist revolution and taking care of the common property of the co-operatives.

Now that a *ri* forms a production unit, a county people's committee with 20 *ri* under it has only to organize and manage these 20 production units well. The chairman of the county people's committee, considering himself the manager of a big factory, should regard the agricultural co-operative in each *ri* as a workshop of his factory and mobilize the functionaries of the county people's committee, giving meticulous help to the *ri* work. The county people's committee should assume the full responsibility for the work of all co-operatives in the county, each of them, of course, being run on a self-maintaining basis. Previously, the county people's committee was not keenly concerned whether farming was going well or whether the peasants' living standard was actually improving, and it considered its duty done when it had collected statistics and reported impressive figures to higher bodies, collected taxes and mobilized the peasants for road building or repairing. Now this absolutely will not do. In the days of the private peasant economy it could manage somehow or other in that way, but it will no longer work now. Today the county people's committee should not assume the attitude of a third party but a party directly concerned in the affairs of each agricultural co-operative. Only then can the county people's committee perform its functions in conformity with the new circumstances.

The county people's committee should in reality play the role of the lowest administrative body. At present there is, in form, the *ri* people's committee, which performs certain administrative functions, but it has been doing nothing in particular. In effect, it would be correct to regard the *ri* as a production unit rather than as an administrative unit. Therefore, the county people's committee should not try to concentrate its main efforts on guiding the lower administrative bodies, but should primarily perform the function of organizing the work of the agricultural co-operative in each *ri* which constitutes the production unit.

For this purpose, it is necessary to re-examine the apparatus of the county people's committee itself. It has hitherto been a miniature replica of the provincial people's committee. *It would be better to replace the system of section chiefs and* various other heads with that of instructors Or you may call them organizers instead of instructors. I think it preferable to have farm organizers, stockbreeding organizers, etc, and set up a system of work under which the organizers go to the agricultural co-operatives directly and help them organize farming and stockbreeding.

Now let me refer to the work of the county Party committee.

The system of work of the county Party committee, too, should be reorganized immediately in keeping with the new circumstances. The county Party committee has thus far worked thinking that it has another leading body under it. But the leading organs of the Party comprise the Central Committee and provincial, city, and county Party committees, and directly under the county Party committee are the primary Party organizations, the basic organizations of our Party Even the primary Party organizations in some big *ri*, where *ri* Party committees have been formed, are under the direct control of the county Party committee, and the *ri* Party committee, as stipulated in the Party Rules, is only meant to assist the county Party committee in the latter's guidance of the primary Party organizations After all, the county Party committee is the low-

est leading organ of our Party and should directly lead all primary Party organizations in the county. This should be clearly understood first of all.

The county Party committee should regard the *ri* Party organizations as big cells and give them direct leadership, but it tries to lead them through the *ri* Party committees, and no wonder things do not go well. The county Party committee should perform its own duties in a correct manner, instead of sending one official dispatch after another and writing notifications day in and day out, as if it had some other leading body under it.

In fact, the chairman is the only full-time functionary in a *ri* Party committee, and the rest are farmers—co-operative members who must earn work-points to have their share. Under these circumstances, if so many dispatches and notifications are sent down, who will read, analyse and execute them? The *ri* Party committee chairman can never cope with them all by himself. As a result, he detaches quite a few persons from production and puts them to work as if they were full-time functionaries, and then unscrupulously gives them some work-points in reward for what they have done in the way of Party work.

The county Party committee should perform the functions of directly organizing and leading the work of the *ri* Party committee, bearing in mind that the latter is now the Party cell of a big production unit which is different both from the *myon* Party committee of the past and from the *ri* Party committee at the time of the private peasant economy. In other words, the county Party committee should lead the *ri* Party organizations in the same way as the Party committee of a big factory does the workshop Party organizations or as the regimental Party committee in the People's Army guides the battalion Party organizations.

First and foremost, the county Party committee should do its organizational work well. To do so, it should clearly understand the substance of the organizational work it has to perform. If you think that organizational work means simply call-

ing meetings, sending documents, writing notifications or doing odd jobs for the chairman of the county Party committee, you are mistaken. In a word, organizational work means rousing all Party members to action for the implementation of the Party's policies. To organize the activities of the Party, to mobilize the members, nuclei and cadres of the Party for the carrying out of revolutionary tasks and to activate the masses—this is organizational work. This is what the county Party committee is required to do in relation to all primary Party organizations in the county.

I have long since pointed out the necessity of wiping out formalism in Party work, but it still remains, and this can also be traced to poor organizational work. The key to breaking the pattern of formalism lies nowhere else but in drawing all Party members into Party work and getting them to conduct their activities consciously. When only a few cadres busy themselves with Party work, while the bulk of the Party members are not involved, it is quite natural that Party work should be shallow and ineffective. Formalism will be eliminated once and for all only when all Party members regard Party work as their own business and delve deep into it, do their part at their posts, adhere to Party principles and work devotedly for the implementation of the Party's policies.

The Party's propaganda work is inseparable from its organizational work. Without thoroughly educating Party members in the Party's policies, and without widely explaining and propagating them among the masses, Party members cannot play their vanguard role in the struggle for carrying through the Party's policies, nor can the creative energies of the masses be mobilized. Therefore, the county Party committee should effectively conduct its propaganda work, along with its organizational work. If this is done well, everything will proceed smoothly.

What is important in improving the work of the county Party committees is to put an end, once and for all, to administrative methods of work. In essence, sending down official papers and issuing orders and directives are methods alien to

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What is important in improving the work of the county Party committees is to put an end, once and for all, to administrative methods of work. In essence, sending down official papers and issuing orders and directives are methods alien to

Party work. What is fundamental in Party work is not this sort of administrative method but persuasion and education. We must not bluntly dictate to people, demanding that they do things irrespective of their ability. The more complicated and difficult the work is, the more must the people be awakened and shown the right direction. Only then will everyone move in that direction with confidence. The Party should patiently educate its members and awaken the masses in that manner.

You should have frequent talks with Party members, give them lectures, induce them to read books and direct their meetings, in such a way that all Party members will have a clear understanding of the intentions of the Party centre, will uphold the Party's policies wholeheartedly and go through fire and water to carry them out. Such is Party work, political work. By giving precedence to politics, which we always call for, is meant first doing this work well, followed by other work. When political work is done well, administrative work will naturally go well.

But the county Party committees themselves have failed to conduct the Party's organizational and political work satisfactorily. Take the Kangso County Party Committee for example. Putting aside this work, its proper function, its organizational department has spent much time preparing notifications and statistics. I was told that, last year alone, the Kangso County Party Committee submitted 63 reports to the provincial Party committee. Why were so many reports needed? There are 26 counties in South Pyongan Province, and if each of them were to submit 63 reports, the provincial Party committee chairman would have to read 1,638 reports a year. This would mean that he should read four to five reports every day of the year for 365 days, not even taking a day off. How can the provincial Party committee chairman read all that? It is impossible. So there has to be someone else on hand, whose job it is to inform him only of the important ones among them. If so, why waste time writing so many reports, instead of reporting only important matters from the start?

As for statistical reports alone, the organizational department of the Kangso County Party Committee submitted 21 returns last year. This means that the chairman of the provincial Party committee has to read annually as many as 621 statistical reports from the county Party committees. I just looked over the reports and found that most of them were on rowing and various other campaigns, whereas few were on such essential matters as Party life.

As you see, the organizational departments of the county Party committees are not doing what they ought to, but are engrossed in paper work and play the role of a secretariat for the county Party committee chairman. All work reports and speeches he delivers are also prepared by the organizational department. The county Party committee chairman rarely prepares his own reports. For years I have not come across a single article in *Rodong Sinmun* that was written by a county Party committee chairman.

The situation is very serious. The organizational department of the county Party committee must be getting all Party members on the move and activating primary Party organizations, but, on the contrary, it has been reduced to a documents section preparing reports and statistics day and night, to a secretariat in charge of clerical work for the county Party committee chairman. A secretariat of this sort, not provided for in the apparatus plan, seems to have been set up in many places; large or small, it seems to exist everywhere—in provincial Party committees, in each ministry, and power organ. All this is the noxious aftereffect of Ho Ga I's style of work. It is a habit formed in the days when Ho Ga I, who did not even know the Korean language properly, held an important post in the Party centre and his companions were provincial Party committee chairmen. In those days, many people thought that was the way to do Party work, and even the county Party committees were influenced by it. That was in the past, but why should the county Party committee, and none other, work in this way even now, long after Ho Ga I's crimes were exposed? The county Party committee cannot lead the primary Party or-

ganizations in that manner. Instead of simply doing desk work, its functionaries should go down to the lower levels and organize the activities of Party members.

The propaganda departments of the county Party committees, too, act in a crippled manner. Their staffs do not go down to have talks with Party members and educate them, and to inspire the masses to carry out economic tasks, but think it sufficient for them simply to call up people and make speeches to them. The propaganda department of the county Party committee has been reduced to a propaganda department which is sedentary and gives short courses only. Regardless of time, it summons agitators to attend one short course after another. None of the agitators in the *ri* are full-time workers, all of them are engaged in farming. Nevertheless, the propaganda department just summons them at random. Why can't they go down to the *ri* and give short courses on the spot, showing people, by the way, a model of what a lecture should be like? They do not do this but just hang around their office, so that they cannot help but be estranged from the life of Party members and divorced from reality.

The Party members and the masses perform unconditionally whatever the county Party committee instructs them to do, regarding it as an instruction of the Party Central Committee, a task they must carry out at all costs in the interests of the revolution. When told to attend a short course, they set everything aside and attend it without fail, however busy they may be. This is an expression of their boundless trust in and loyalty to the Party. How good our Party members, our masses are! If we educated such good Party members, such good masses, in a proper manner and roused them to voluntary action, nothing would be impossible for us. We could even level mountains and fill the sea. The root cause of all shortcomings lies nowhere else but in our own failure to give correct leadership.

The work of the county Party committees should be reorganized so that all their functionaries will go to the *ri* Party organizations and conduct organizational and propaganda work

for them. Today when the whole Party is firmly united around the Party Central Committee and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses is running high, our socialist construction will be further accelerated if we improve the work of the county Party committees in that way and also reorganize the work system of the county people's committees, and if all the cadres at the county level go down to lower units and directly organize and aid in the work of the *ri*.

As there are 35 personnel in the Kangso County Party Committee, three of them can take charge of and assist in the Party work of two *ri*. Three are enough to make a close study of the Party members and cadres in two *ri*, guide all work knowing the situation there like the palm of their own hand. Besides, the Kangso County People's Committee has 113 personnel, and when they are divided among 20 *ri*, every five or six of them will take charge of each *ri*. Adding together the functionaries of the county Party committee and the county people's committee, seven or more persons can go and help each *ri*. This is a great force. If the cadres at the county level are thus grouped and go and help the *ri* in their work, it will ease the shortage of personnel, which is a big headache for our countryside where the socialist system has triumphed, and will bring about a great change in our rural work.

According to the actual conditions I have found in the course of my recent visit, there is no need for a county Party committee to have industrial and agricultural departments. What is the use of keeping the industrial and agricultural departments in the county Party committee when the county people's committee has such departments? The organizational department of the county Party committee can handle all cadres of the economic branches as well. In my opinion, we had better dismiss the idea of instituting co-operative organizational department in the county Party committee, too. Because such economic departments have been instituted, they tend to act for the administrative bodies and employ administrative methods in their work. All that is required is to make the economic departments of the county people's committee function properly

and to exercise Party control over them. It will suffice if the county Party committee has organizational and propaganda departments and conducts political work well. However, in order to guide and control the county people's committee in its fulfilment of the Party's economic policy and to assist in the dissemination of economic and technical knowledge among Party workers, it is desirable for the county Party committee to have two or three economic instructors. It would be most ideal if college-graduate specialists could be allocated for this purpose, but where such cadres are not available, those Party members who have some knowledge and experience in economic and technical affairs may be selected and allocated. As for the educational department of the county Party committee, I think we had better maintain it for the time being, until the work of the Democratic Youth League organizations is strengthened. The educational department of the county Party committee, too, may be abolished some day when the Democratic Youth League is able to give effective assistance in the functioning of schools.

In improving the method of leadership it is very important to strengthen the system of collective consultation and to establish correct working relations between the county Party committee and the county people's committee.

The county Party committee is a body of collective leadership which assumes full responsibility for everything that takes place in the county. Some people seem to think that since the county Party committee is not to act for the county people's committee in its activity, it should confine itself to Party organizational and ideological work and to the discussion of personnel matters, and should not take up other questions. This idea is wrong. Both the plenary and executive committee meetings of the county Party committee can and must take up any problem if need be. Only thus can the county Party committee perform its functions as a collective leadership body in the county.

Propagation of the Party's policies and the mobilization of the masses for the struggle to carry them out; education of

Party members and working people in communist ideology; training, selection and allocation of cadres; maintenance of social order and the safeguarding of revolutionary gains from enemy encroachment; acceleration of the technical and cultural revolutions; working out a local plan for the national economy; capital construction; rational organization of labour; and the principal orientation in financial expenditure—all these are questions which should be collectively considered by the county Party committee. Under the collective leadership of the county Party committee, the county Party committee chairman and the county people's committee chairman should divide the work, the former conducting Party work and the latter administrative and economic work. Here, the highest leading body should be the county Party committee.

The county people's committee, in all its work, must receive the guidance of the county Party committee. It is quite erroneous to think that the county people's committee can function, bypassing the county Party committee, because administratively it is under the provincial people's committee. The county people's committee cannot exist independently of the guidance of the county Party committee. All economic establishments, interior service organizations, judicial bodies and social organizations in the county, too, cannot work independently of the guidance of the county Party committee.

Just as the Presidium of the Party Central Committee leads at the centre and the provincial Party committee leads in the province, so the county Party committee must exercise overall leadership in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the county. All establishments and organizations in the county, without exception, must be subject to its leadership.

I emphasize this again because we have recently observed in a number of places the grave phenomena of working arbitrarily, in separation from the collective leadership of the Party. Such was the case in the Kangson Steel Plant. Its manager remained outside the control of the factory Party committee and ran a one-man show, paying no heed to the opin-

ions of others, with the result that at one time the work of the steel plant nearly went amiss.

During our recent stay at Chongsan-*ri*, we could see how much harm the Kangso County People's Committee had done by turning a deaf ear to the opinions of the Party and the voices of the peasants and by issuing orders in an arbitrary manner. At first it instructed the peasants to plant red beans, then to plough up the fields and plant maize and, in the end, forced them to plough up the fields once again to plant vegetables. This led the peasants to do the backbreaking work of turning up quite a large tract of land over and over again, without even being able to harvest the vegetables, which were planted too late. At a time when rice transplanting was at its height and weeding was overdue, the county people's committee made no scruple to mobilize the peasants at random for the building of a hotel and roads.

All this resulted from the failure of the county people's committee in its work to rely on the collective leadership of the county Party committee and to have regard for the interests of the masses.

All work must be organized and carried out along the line laid down by the county Party committee through collective discussion. The county people's assembly, too, must be guided by this line, and once a decision is adopted at the people's assembly, it becomes a law. No one is entitled to revise or violate it. All particulars of the local plan for the national economy—agriculture, local industry, capital construction, work organization, financial expenditure, etc.—should be implemented unconditionally once they are approved by the county people's assembly after the collective deliberation of the county Party committee.

The county Party committee should always check and control the fulfilment of the national economic plan, and discuss and decide upon flexible measures to remedy any defect in work. The county people's committee, acting upon the decision of the county Party committee, should carry out corresponding measures, and the Party organizations in the

county should render active assistance to guarantee their fulfilment. If things are done in this way, success will be assured not only in economic work but also in all other activities in the county. The system of collective leadership by the county Party committee should be firmly established on such principles.

There are two requisites for strengthening collective leadership by the county Party committee: first, to build up the body of collective leadership in a proper way and second, to enlist the wisdom of the broad masses.

It is important that the county Party committee be formed of competent cadres who are loyal to the Party. However hard one may try subjectively to be loyal to the Party, he cannot be loyal in practice if he does not enjoy the confidence of the masses and does not know how to work. That is why the Party committee must be composed of people who possess a strong Party spirit, enjoy public confidence and have ability; and workers of all branches should be represented in the county Party committee Only then can it ensure collective leadership satisfactorily in the Party's organizational and ideological work, in economic work, in the struggle against counterrevolutionaries and in all other activities.

The most important thing in collective leadership is to bring into play the wisdom of the masses and gather their constructive opinions in a timely way. No excellent idea can be born of discussions by only a few members of the county Party committee, even if they meet and hold discussions all the time. New and bright ideas can emerge only when committee members mingle with the masses, live with them, and listen to their sincere opinions before making deliberations.

Dynamic and creative wisdom is always found among the masses. Of course, fragmentary and immature as the opinions of the masses may be at first, it is the duty of Party workers to grasp them in good time, and supplement and systematize them through collective consultations. The Party's leading bodies should then disseminate among the masses the opinions thus summarized and systematized, and lead the masses to fol-

low them. This is precisely what constitutes political leadership, living leadership.

The great upsurge in socialist construction following the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the building of over 1,000 factories in only a few months by tapping local reserves, and the twofold increase in the number of machine tools in one year through the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement—all these are models of the able collective leadership of our Party Central Committee. Great strength can be displayed only by a collective leadership which relies entirely on the masses, draws at all times on their wisdom and strength, learns from them and teaches them.

In the performance of the functions of collective leadership by the county Party committee, it is important to cement comradely unity among its members, and particularly unity between chairmen of the county Party committee and the county people's committee. In the case of a factory, too, things will go well only when the Party committee chairman and the manager work hand in hand and are in rapport with each other. If the chairmen of the Party committee and the people's committee are to work successfully in close unity, they should be modest and frank with each other, and respect and help each other in a comradely way. There can be neither unity nor co-operation if they ride the high horse, look down upon the other and assume such attitudes as, "You may know politics but not practical work" or "You may know practical work but not politics." If anyone regards only his own views as best and does not respect, or even ignores, the views of others, collective wisdom can in no way emerge nor collective strength be displayed. As the saying goes, a general without an army is no general. Collective leadership requires of necessity the pooling of wisdom and strength of your comrades, and to do so everyone should learn from and teach each other, and help each other in a comradely way. When a comrade puts forward a certain view, hasn't he some basis for it, however insignificant it may seem? Then, his view

must not be turned down point-blank but must be studied carefully, and efforts should be made to pick out its rational kernel, even if the view is not entirely correct. Only when everyone takes such an attitude to each other, can opinions of Party committee members be readily co-ordinated into well-refined collective views, and a Party committee function actively as a united body of collective leadership.

It seems that there are now many places where cadres at the lower levels are not closely knit together. In quite a few places they seem to be united outwardly, but actually they are not, they are not ideologically united. This is true of the counties as well as of the *ri*. True, it is more undesirable for cadres to connive at each other's shortcomings and practise nepotism, but it is also very harmful for them not to maintain comradely unity but to be at loggerheads. Such phenomena should be decisively eradicated.

Although the chairmen of the county Party committee and people's committee should respect each other's views, *those of the Party committee chairman should carry more* weight. The two should discuss matters together, but the *county Party committee chairman should always make the* final decision, since he generally has a greater vision and a higher level of political knowledge The chairman of the county people's committee works mainly with administrative and technical personnel of that committee, whereas the county Party committee chairman is able to hear the voice of the broader masses and synthesize their views better, because he personally leads the Party workers. A Party committee chairman who performs Party work properly can always find the right course by bringing into play the collective wisdom of *the Party members and the masses*, though a Party committee chairman who works formalistically cannot, of course, do so Therefore, it is unjustifiable for a county Party committee chairman to brandish the authority of the Party and put on superior airs; but it is even more impermissible for a county people's committee chairman not to accept the *views of the* chairman of the county Party committee

I have one more thing to add in regard to Party work, that is, the question of improving the political and practical level of county Party committee instructors.

At present the level of instructors of provincial, city and county Party committees is very low. Here is an example. While we were in Kangso County to guide the work of its Party committee recently, we heard a report of an instructor from the provincial Party committee. He gave an account of how he had fulfilled an assignment, but however hard we tried, we could not make out at all what he was talking about. How could this comrade, whose account was so incoherent that we could hardly understand him, explain Party policy to the people and direct work at the lower levels according to it? His title was instructor, but how could he guide Party members and the masses when his level was so low? This is a very serious problem. If one is to play the elementary role as instructor, he should at least be able to analyse problems raised from below, distinguish between right and wrong and take appropriate measures, but our instructors pitiably lack such ability. This is the real state of affairs, but in the Kangso County Party Committee, its chairman, vice-chairmen and department chiefs pay little attention to elevating the level of instructors.

For instance, when a department chief wants to have an instructor draft something, he should give him an outline of its idea and content and teach him how to write it, and when the draft is completed, he must appraise and correct it meticulously, thus facilitating the improvement of the instructor. But he does not do so, but only orders him to draft it, and simply rejects it, saying it is no good. A certain comrade is said to have made such rejections no less than ten times. The instructor who wrote it did not know what was wrong and how, and only struggled with the task by himself; so, good writing will never come of this, and he will not be able to advance an inch in this way. Piling demands on an instructor without teaching or assisting him will never help to improve his level.

The most important thing in developing instructors is to acquaint them thoroughly with our Party's policies. Once they have a good knowledge of the Party's policies, they can analyse and tackle all problems with confidence and lead the masses along the right path.

Our Party policy is Marxism-Leninism applied to the concrete practice of the Korean revolution and is the guide to all our actions. To know it is tantamount to possessing a yardstick. All phenomena can be measured by this yardstick. Only when you have judged whether or not an issue is in accord with the Party's policies and what path should be taken to carry out these policies, can you distinguish right from wrong, adhere to principles and correctly solve the problem at hand. Therefore, instructors should be helped consistently to maintain this guiding principle firmly and random requests designed only to find faults should not be made. Without a correct understanding of the Party's policies, they cannot analyse things and, accordingly, cannot detect shortcomings, much less can give active political guidance to Party members and the masses, as instructors should.

In the past even instructors at the Party centre did not know the Party's policies well. Ho Ga I just kept all Party policies secret and was unwilling to let Party workers know about them. This practice was completely done away with only after the Third Party Congress. Since then, it has become a rule to inform cadres and all instructors without delay of any decision taken by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, except those that are highly confidential. A change has taken place in the work of instructors at the Party centre since they have come to have a clear understanding of the intentions of the Presidium and have grasped the Party's policies. Only when the Party's policies are grasped in this way, can you possess a broader political perspective, form your own views and advance firmly along the right path. I do not mean that such a change has never taken place in local bodies, but rather that it is still insufficient.

There is at present not a single domain, not a single branch

which the Party's policies do not clearly cover. Take our industrial policy, agricultural policy, commercial policy, policy for the development of transport and policy for education and culture, or the line of struggle against the counterrevolutionaries—none of them is ambiguous. Once you have systematically grasped these policies, you can surmount any barrier and confidently advance in all affairs. This, of course, requires that you must make the Party's policies your own; merely to memorize the phrases is of no use. The instructors should be given a correct understanding of the essence and motives of the Party's policies, and only then can they act positively and stand unwaveringly, no matter which way the wind blows. It is no use to teach them the Party's policies mechanically as pupils used to be taught Chinese characters, who could understand the symbols for *Heaven* and *Earth* only when the latter was placed after the former, and the former before the latter.

Also, knowledge of the Party's policies must be comprehensive and exhaustive. Party work can hardly be discharged if one's knowledge of Party policy is such that one knows the industrial policy of the Party but is ignorant of its agricultural policy, or knows its organizational line but not its economic policy. Herein lies the difference between the Party worker and the specialist or technician engaged in other fields. At present among our Party instructors there are many who know organizational work but are ignorant of propaganda work, or vice versa, and who are totally ignorant of economic and technical matters. This must not continue. The Party committees at all levels should direct primary attention to broadening the political horizons of Party instructors and imparting the Party's policies to them profoundly and systematically, for it is they who are in contact with the masses most frequently and mobilize the Party members directly.

Now I should like to speak about economic activities, especially ways and means of eliminating shortcomings in agriculture.

First, the major shortcoming is that, though the co-opera-

tives have been amalgamated, their management has still failed to keep pace with this and, consequently, the level of planning in the co-operatives is very low, and they fail to grasp the main link in their work.

Our agricultural co-operative, as a large socialist collective economy, requires planned management. If planned management goes amiss, spontaneity raises its head. During our recent guidance, we found quite a few instances in which the co-operative management board failed to run the co-operative economy properly and to have a good grip of the overall work of the co-operative with things left to develop spontaneously in various aspects. What was even more serious was that the management board only spread its work about and dispersed the already limited rural manpower over various things, neglecting to implement the Party's policy of laying the main emphasis on grain production.

Grain is the basic crop in agricultural production in our country. Livestock breeding and all other work depend on the successful cultivation of grain. It should be borne in mind that by an agricultural co-operative is meant a farming co-operative. Of course, it may carry on sidelines in addition to farming; and it should do so actively. But it would not do if the co-operatives were to fail to concentrate on agricultural production and dispersed their force to such an extent as to be unable to draw a line of distinction between the main task and subsidiary tasks. At present, they have all sorts of work-teams for construction, fishing, oil extraction, rice hulling and polishing and flour milling, and many hands—sturdy young and middle-aged men at that—are assigned to various jobs other than farming. This is wrong It is a dangerous trend for an agricultural co-operative to concern itself exclusively with secondary occupations. In Chongsan-*ri*, for instance, a great deal of manpower was allotted to branches of secondary importance last year, and many persons were separated from agricultural production. This was precisely what happened at the Hwanghae Iron Works, where at one time steel production, its main task, was neglected and manpower, materials and

funds were dispersed. Such phenomena should be eradicated, and the main force of the co-operative should be concentrated on agricultural production, especially on the production of grain.

And the level of planning in agricultural co-operatives should be raised decisively. In the past target figures were set at random, but now efforts must be made to work out realistic and dynamic plans, taking the rural productive forces into full account. A plan should not be mapped out on the basis of the subjective desire of management board members. Plans must be drawn up on the basis of creative suggestions of the masses of co-operative members, after exhaustive discussions by the masses. But it should be borne in mind that once a plan is adopted by the unanimous will of the co-operative members, it becomes a law. Neither the chairman, nor the workteam leader, nor anyone else can revise or violate it arbitrarily. Discipline has been extremely loose so far in this regard, but this should definitely be corrected. A co-operative economy embracing hundreds of peasant households and hundreds of *chongbo* of land cannot be managed planfully, nor can various manifestations of spontaneity be checked without establishing strict discipline in planning.

Second, a serious defect is that distribution is not made correctly according to the socialist principle and the material interest of the peasants is not stimulated. Despite my recent repeated warnings and emphases on this score, things are not yet going well.

The socialist principle of distribution according to work done is now being grossly violated in agriculture. It is honoured in words only, not in practice. There are even serious cases of grain piling up in warehouses and distributed little by little in equal amounts, as though rationed. Even in those places where distribution is conducted in some way, work-points are assessed so inaccurately that strictly speaking, it is hard to say that distribution is made according to the socialist principle.

Most important is the fair assessment of work-points. It

is the prerequisite to correct distribution on the socialist principle. But at present the assessment is done in an extremely unfair, unprincipled manner. There is a tendency to give undeservedly many work-points for easier work on the ground that it requires skilled labour.

Here is an example. A man who idles away his time carrying a pair of pliers with him is given 1.5 work-points simply because he is an electrician. If he had a heavy workload and worked as hard as other co-operative members all day long, it would be another matter. But this is not the case. Though there is nothing special to do, an electrician is kept in vain, and is mechanically given 1.5 work-points every day. How unfair this is! Take another example. The members of the fishing team, too, are unconditionally given 1.5 work-points a day. There are no grounds for saying that fishing is more important than farming and, moreover, there is very little fishing to do on most agricultural co-operatives. So, the fishing team crew do their job leisurely, enjoying their boating before the wind It is absurd to readily give these people the highest work-points every day. The case of mechanization workteam members is similar. Their work-points should be assessed, taking into full account what sort of job they have actually done today, how laborious the job is, how much skill is needed to do it and how much work they have performed. It is unfair to give them the highest work-points simply because they belong to the mechanization workteam. With things handled in this manner, 1.5 work-points are given indiscriminately even to a man who, with nothing particular to do, only strolls about all day long, blueprints in hand, supposedly for mechanization. The situation is really serious. Who would display enthusiasm for arduous farm work under such conditions? Before people are aware, all the shrewd and sleek people in the co-operative have quit the basic work and taken up the so-called skilled work, which is more facile while bringing them more work-points. The result is that farm work is left to pliable, hard-working women.

What should the agricultural co-operatives put stress on

of 4 tons per *chongbo* and forwards it to the province, the province raises it to 4.2 tons and forwards it to the county, which adds another 300 kilogrammes to make it 4.5 tons and submits it to the *ri*, where it is converted into a round figure of 5 tons. Such a practice in working out agricultural production plans should no longer be repeated. Instead of thus boosting the figures again and again with pencil and paper, the endeavour should be made to increase actual harvest by increasing the peasants' enthusiasm for production.

As I emphasized at the Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee last December, how could one possibly expect all our peasants to be already communist? It will be a long time before they are fully armed with communist ideology. When the level of the productive forces and the consciousness of the peasants are low, how can we boost production without material stimulus to the peasants? To make light of the principle of material incentive, while claiming that we are building socialism, is a violation of the elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism. We must resolutely combat such phenomenon.

I think that all our functionaries must also take a correct view of the agricultural tax in kind. Some people seem to think it better to raise the tax in kind a little higher, but there is no need to do so at present. Only when the rate of the tax in kind delivered to the state is low, can the agricultural cooperatives accumulate more for themselves and their members receive a greater share and benefit, and only then can their zeal for production be increased. We are now in a position to do so, and that is why we have boldly reduced the rate of the tax in kind.

Why then did we set the high rate of 25 per cent when we first instituted the system of tax in kind? Because it was inevitable under the circumstances at the time. Our country was then agrarian, and agriculture had to shoulder many burdens. Of course, this rate was very low as compared with pre-liberation days when half of the harvest was taken as farm-rent by the landlords, more was taken away outrageously by the Jap-

anese rogues under the name of grain quota delivery, and so on. That is why the peasants, who had become masters of land thanks to the agrarian reform, heartily welcomed the institution of the system of tax in kind from the start. When they were given land free of charge and freed from all exacting taxes and levies, and asked to pay only 25 per cent of their harvest while keeping the rest for themselves, the peasants said that their life had taken a new turn. We fought the war and developed our industry by virtue of the tax in kind paid by the peasants. But the situation is different now. Our country has turned into an industrial-agricultural state, and has secured enough assets to further develop its industry and to render powerful assistance to agriculture with accumulation coming from industry alone. True, industry has long been assisting agriculture, but now the time has come for industry to render more comprehensive assistance to agriculture so as to accelerate the technical revolution in the countryside, lighten the peasants' work and increase their incomes. Proceeding from these considerations, we have taken measures to reduce *the rate of the tax in kind to 8.4 per cent on an average, and* even to completely exempt some co-operatives from it.

Since this has been decided by the Supreme People's Assembly, the relevant law should be properly implemented. However, we found in Kangso County that serious consequences had been brought about by incorrect fulfilment of it. The rate of the tax in kind was reduced to 8.4 per cent of the harvest envisaged in the state plan, but the target figures themselves were set too high last year and, consequently, the burden of the tax in kind on the peasants was not so much reduced. Thus they were not given great material incentive. Therefore, we must set reasonable targets and levy exactly an 8.4 per cent tax in kind from this year If the amount of grain delivered to the state in the form of tax in kind is insufficient, the state may purchase grain from the peasants at a proper price. Now that there are neither individual peasants nor individual traders anywhere and everyone is included in the socialist economy, all the surplus grain of the co-operatives

and of their members is bound to be procured by the state. There is no other channel of transactions.

The question is whether the state should collect the grain without compensation in the form of tax in kind, or purchase it. Today with huge accumulations from industry, the state can fully purchase it. It is therefore absurd to worry about the rate of the tax in kind being too low. With a continued increase in agricultural production, the rate of the tax in kind will decrease further still, and it will be totally abolished in the not too distant future.

We must correct the misconceptions of functionaries concerning the agricultural tax in kind, so that the law is enforced accurately. If the peasants' living standard improves and their enthusiasm for production rises, it will be good for the peasants, good for the workers and for everyone. Frankly speaking, prior to the Five-Year Plan, the peasants' living standard was somewhat better than that of the workers, but now it is worse than the workers'. This is mainly because agriculture lags behind industrial development which is proceeding at a rapid pace. We should therefore vigorously push forward the mechanization of agriculture and render active assistance in consolidating the agricultural co-operative economy and improving peasants' living standard in accordance with the clear-cut policy already set forth by the Party.

Further, we must see that there is no infringement upon the interests of the peasants. If we prejudice their interests by improper work with them, it will not only bring political losses but also dampen their enthusiasm for production, thereby causing economic losses as well.

We have functionaries who make no scruple to infringe upon the interests of the peasants and have no compunction when they inflict losses upon them. Such practices must be stopped once and for all. Take vegetable growing, for example. They tell the peasants to grow vegetables, and lots of them, but when vegetables become plentiful, they try to cut the price and even become reluctant to procure them. There were co-operatives which suffered losses because they could not dis-

pose of their tomato harvests last year. This is a very serious matter. If things go on like this, who on earth will grow vegetables? No one wants to take a loss after putting in so much work.

The Ministry of Light Industry, too, encouraged the cultivation of sugar beets in various areas, but failed to purchase them, as it should have done. If the state does not buy, there is nowhere to sell today. So, the peasants of Taedong County, South Pyongan Province, for instance, could not but use the sugar beets for cattle feed. The peasants had made painstaking efforts to grow sugar beets, as requested by the state, only to feed them to their cattle Could there be any peasant who would be pleased at this? It is wrong to set an unreasonable plan, but when more than enough vegetables have been harvested because the state has set the production target too high, then the state must buy and sell them even at a loss to itself. If there are surplus sugar beets because of the inadequacy of the processing facilities, the state must buy the surplus beets even if it has to allot them for cattle feed. Although the Party centre has repeatedly underscored this point, there are still functionaries whose actions are at variance with the intentions of the Party.

All this is no accident It is a manifestation of the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism in the minds of some functionaries. Only by making a clean sweep of these survivals, will it be possible to do away with such practices as infringing upon the interests of the peasants, and to carry through the Party's mass line.

I should like to stress once again that it is more important to raise the peasants' zeal for production than to collect a few sacks more of grain as tax in kind or stint a few pennies in grain procurement. When the peasants' zeal for production rises, output will grow; when agricultural output grows, it will be good because agricultural co-operatives will be consolidated, good because the peasants' life will become affluent, and good because the state will have more grain reserves Nothing would be more welcome than this.

To unite with the people and lead them to carry out the revolution so that they lead a happier and fuller life—this is the aim of Communists, and how can we attain this aim without respecting the interests of the people? All functionaries, particularly those of the county Party committees and the county people's committees who are in closest touch with the peasant masses, should be perfectly clear about this point.

Such is roughly the main questions which have come to my notice in the course of guiding the work of the Kangso County Party Committee.

In the work of Chongsan-*ri* and Kangso County, we have seen the typical situation of the rural *ri* and counties in our country today. The lessons and conclusions drawn therefrom will be of immense value in reorganizing the work of the *ri* Party committees, the management boards of the agricultural co-operatives and county Party committees and people's committees in order to make new advances in our socialist agriculture. I propose to the Presidium that intensive guidance work for all counties and *ri* in the country be organized on this basis.

To reorganize the work of the Party and government bodies in the county and improve the management of agricultural co-operative economy is the pressing demand of our present-day countryside, where the socialist economic system has been established and the technical and cultural revolutions are being pushed ahead. Let us make fresh, great progress in our socialist countryside by improving the system of work and method of guidance in conformity with the new circumstances!

ON THE SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
August 11, 1960

1. ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

At this Plenary Meeting the Central Committee of our Party has presented the programmatic tasks of the technical revolution and raised the question of improving and intensifying the training of technical personnel.

The technical revolution, as you know, is an undertaking of great significance in the history of our country; it is the most fundamental revolutionary task set by our Party in socialist construction at the present time.

We Korean Communists and the rest of our people have already done a really great deal of work. We have waged a national-liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism and beaten off an armed invasion by U.S. imperialism, and today we are carrying on a revolutionary struggle to achieve the reunification and independence of our country. Following liberation, we effected a democratic revolution in the northern half of our country, wiping out the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism

and feudal forces. We also victoriously completed the socialist revolution, abolishing capitalism and co-operativizing small production. All this was a struggle to put an end to oppression and exploitation and create a new, free and happy life for the people.

Our Party is now confronted with the weighty tasks of further advancing socialist construction in the northern half, while mobilizing the revolutionary forces of the entire people to wage an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle to smash the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces and their stooges in south Korea and win our country's complete liberation and democratic freedom. We must carry out these tasks energetically and continue the revolutionary struggle in order to achieve the peaceful reunification of our country and ensure the genuine freedom and happiness of our people.

The technical revolution is an important revolution to emancipate our people, who have already been freed from oppression and exploitation, from hard and toilsome work, so that they can create more wealth with less effort, and to make the people's life richer and more cultured. For us Communists, who have taken power and are building a new society, this is a great undertaking, a lofty revolutionary task which absolutely has to be carried through to completion.

Had our country been a developed capitalist country, the technical revolution would not have posed a great problem in socialist construction. In the developed capitalist countries the industrial revolution was carried out and industrialization realized long ago, with the result that the people there are producing a great deal of wealth by using machines. It goes without saying that this wealth goes to the capitalists, and the working people are condemned to poverty, starvation and unemployment, but, at any rate, it is a fact that, under capitalism, machine technology has made considerable progress. In such countries, the question of the technical revolution is comparatively easy to solve once the working class seizes power, dispossesses the capitalists of machines and other means of production, and makes them the property of the people.

But in a backward agrarian country such as ours, which has not gone through the stage of normal capitalist development, the technical revolution presents itself as a very important and difficult task once the people have taken power and socialized the means of production.

The means of production we took from the Japanese imperialists, the landlords and the capitalists were actually insignificant. Not a machine was to be seen in the countryside; there were only cattle, *hori*, ploughs and the like. The industrial establishments set up by the Japanese imperialists in Korea were, for the most part, aimed at extracting raw materials and shipping them to Japan. And as for the processing plants, they were only capable of producing semi-finished goods. The Japanese imperialists did not, and could not, build a single establishment in the interests of the Korean people.

The Japanese monopoly capitalists were engrossed only in making huge profits by exploiting the cheap source of labour in Korea and were highly averse to introducing modern machinery. In factories, mills, mines and elsewhere, Koreans did manual labour and carried loads on their backs.

Thus, our country remained very backward technologically and economically, owing to the long years of feudal rule and colonial plunder. It was no simple matter to overcome such historical backwardness, and it required considerable time.

Surmounting all hardships and difficulties, we have put our economy—which had been ravaged twice—back on its feet and further developed it. Nevertheless, the level of technical development in our country is, in general, low, and primitive techniques are still applied widely in agriculture, local industry and various other branches. It is entirely due to the backwardness of our country's productive forces and the low level of its technology that our people are not yet living in plenty, although the sources of exploitation and poverty have been eliminated.

This is why we must push the revolution ahead. We have reorganized production relations along socialist lines, so that all our people may work and be well-off, but this alone is not

enough. We must now develop technology so that our people may work with less effort and earn a lot, and all of them may lead a bountiful life.

Only with the fulfilment of this revolution can we harvest more grain every year, produce more foodstuffs and articles for daily use, boost our catches of fish, produce and construct faster, more and better everywhere, thus ensuring a life of abundance and culture for all our people. This is the obligatory task of the Communists, and only when they have performed it can the Communists claim to have done their duty.

The technical revolution is a revolutionary task which has come to the fore in its turn in the socialist construction of our country. In keeping with the urgent demands of social development, our Party carried out the socialist transformation of our economy prior to its technological reconstruction. That was entirely correct. As a result, broad vistas were opened for the rapid development of technology and it became possible for us to push ahead with an all-round technical revolution, relying on the socialist system. Only by accomplishing this revolutionary task, now the order of the day, will we be able to reach the eminence of socialism and gradually go on to the building of communism.

In our country, not only has a social system which gives a powerful impetus to the technical revolution been established, but a material foundation has also been built for carrying it out.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party stipulated it as the basic line of economic construction to assure the priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture, with a view to laying the foundation of an independent national economy on the war ruins and quickly restoring the deteriorated living standard of the people. Thanks to the fact that our Party's line was a correct one and that our people carried it all the way through, tightening their belts and practising the strictest economy, we were able to heal the scars of war in only a few years' time, lay the foundations for indus-

trialization, and solve in the main the problem of providing food, clothing and housing for the people.

Without the development of heavy industry, industrialization and the technical revolution are impossible. Industrialization itself implies the creation of a heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core, and mechanization is basic to the technical revolution.

A great revolution can be effected in technology only with the introduction of machines. This holds true for agriculture, light industry, fishing, construction and all other branches of the economy. The manufacture of modern machines and equipment is of paramount importance in industrialization and in the technical revolution. And, for the production of machines, we need iron. It is not without reason that our Party, under the slogan, "Iron and the machine is the king of industry," has been concentrating its efforts on the development of these branches.

As you know, our country had no machine-building industry in the past. There were a few hundred metal-cutting tools in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, but most of them were used only for making spare parts, none for making machines. Now we have created our own machine-building industry, so that machine tools are in operation everywhere and we are able to manufacture and repair machines wherever necessary.

Though we had iron and steel industries in the past, the Japanese imperialists shipped out large quantities of crude iron ore and produced only pig iron and certain kinds of steel, but practically no rolled steel, in Korea. Even these industries were all destroyed in the war. Now, however, we are in a position to satisfy all our needs for pig iron, steel and rolled steel for ourselves.

Electricity, coal, chemical products and building materials are also needed for running our factories and developing our national economy, and we have restored and developed these branches of heavy industry quickly, too.

It is perfectly clear that if our Party had not laid down a

correct line of economic construction, built the firm foundations for an independent heavy industry and created the bases of the machine-building industry by making such tremendous efforts, it would be impossible for us even to speak of an all-round technical revolution today.

Because we have laid the foundations for our heavy industry, we are now fully capable of carrying out any task if we only make up our minds and set to work on it. Lately we have tried our hand at many things, relying on this asset. When we first suggested producing tractors, some people had misgivings and showed a lack of confidence. However, misgivings were replaced by confidence once we started to produce them. Now we are in a position to turn out thousands of tractors a year. People who had never ridden in a car before are now capable of producing so many automobiles. The manufacture of excavators also seemed beyond us at first, but, on producing them, we found that they were, after all, nothing but big mechanical shovels. We have also turned out bulldozers, semi-diesel engines, diesel engines and generators.

When everything depended on the machine tool, the mother of machine production, we launched a mass let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, turning out more than 13,000 above the state plan in a short period of time, simply by tapping latent reserves. The Ryongsong Machine Plant, for example, produced an 8-metre turning lathe and recently has even begun to build a 3,000-ton press.

We are also in a position now to build large-scale modern factories creditably, using our own designs, machines and materials. As for the restoration of the Hwanghae Iron Works, we say "restoration" because we used its old site, but, actually, it is little different from an entirely new construction. Now, to everyone's amazement, we are building a vinalon factory with an annual capacity of 20,000 tons, on the strength of the achievements of our scientific research, using our own machines, equipment and materials.

We have tried our hand at farm mechanization as well. In accordance with the decision of the Enlarged Plenary Meeting

of the Party Central Committee held last December, this year we have supplied a large number of tractors, lorries and various types of tractor-drawn farm machines to South Pyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces and introduced mechanization there. The results have been excellent and real prospects have been opened up for promoting mechanization at a rapid pace.

In this way, during the past year or two, we have had a go at just about everything that was once considered to be difficult.

In the course of experimenting with the technical revolution, we have rid ourselves of all our misgivings and sense of mystery and have gained the firm confidence that we can achieve anything once we choose to do it. Now that we have made all these tests, we can consider that conditions are ripe for initiating a drive for overall technological renovation in all branches of our national economy.

Just as in the case of agricultural co-operativization where we carried out pilot plans in a few villages and counties first, before going over to the full-scale stage, so in the technical revolution, too, we have made varied experiments and accumulated great experience by now. Therefore, we can now enter the stage of all-round technological renovation.

2. ON MOBILIZING THE WISDOM AND INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES TO CARRY OUT THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Effecting a full-scale technical revolution is a complex and arduous task which can be accomplished only by mobilizing the strength of all the Party and our entire people and surmounting all obstacles and difficulties.

The wisdom and enthusiasm of the members of the Heavy Industry Commission, the managers of the machine plants and

a few others are not enough to guarantee the successful completion of this task. There must be a technical revolution in more than just one or two branches. We have quite a few technologically backward branches of the economy: agriculture, local industry, construction, transport, fishing, lumbering and others. Full-scale technological reconstruction requires wisdom and initiative on the part of the masses. If a long period of time were allowed for its accomplishment, we could do it without much effort. However, we plan to accomplish in just a few years what took the capitalist countries a long period of time to accomplish. This would be impossible without harnessing the creative powers of all the working masses.

We have had good experience in working wonders by mobilizing the forces of all the people in our extensive building of local industries, the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, etc. Drawing on this experience, we must dynamically push forward the technological renovation movement in a drive of the whole Party and the entire people, and everyone should come out to participate in carrying out this honourable and worthy revolutionary task.

It is important, in enlisting the creative activity of the masses in the technological renovation movement, to do away with all the mysteries shrouding technology. Because they have lived so long in a backward state, our people may tend to regard machines as rather mysterious things. This is detrimental to the advance of the technical revolution.

Needless to say, the mystery-mongering has been dealt heavy blows and has been almost totally eliminated in the course of the upsurge of socialist construction and of the working of numerous wonders by our labouring masses. However, there still exist die-hards that have survived. We must round up all of them and change their way of thinking.

Then there is another tendency, that of ignoring or underestimating science. Like the mystery-mongering, this, too, holds back our technological development. Machinery itself is a product of the development of science; the technical revolution is inconceivable without science. The technical revolution

is, at the same time, a process of introducing the achievements of modern science in production and popularizing them.

Thus, there emerges the very important question of strengthening creative co-operation in the course of production between the workers who operate the machines and the technicians who have scientific knowledge. Accumulating new and viable experiences every hour and every day in their work, the workers are always racking their brains trying to find ways to produce more with less effort. It is, therefore, natural that they come up with good ideas for technological renovation more often than anyone else. But it is a weakness of the workers that they are familiar only with the machines they themselves operate, and have little knowledge of other related machines and their technical specifications, and they usually know things only by experience, and not well theoretically. To make up for this drawback and to ensure that the workers' brainstorms are incorporated into production, the assistance of technicians is absolutely necessary.

The technical revolution will go forward successfully only when the workers and technicians help each other and learn from each other, when experience and science go hand in hand. It is wrong for workers to refuse the help of science on the pretext of opposing mysticism; it is just as wrong for technicians to get swelled heads, as if they alone were learned, and refuse to accept what is new from the experience of the workers. Miracles can be wrought and the technical revolution bear fruit everywhere only when the workers, peasants, scientists, technicians and everyone else pool their talents and efforts.

In carrying out the technical revolution, it is also necessary to utterly do away with the tendency towards departmentalism.

Today all branches and links of our national economy are closely connected with each other, forming an integral whole. Therefore, should even one branch or link go wrong, it would greatly hamper the all-round technological revolution. Renovation in one branch, as a matter of fact, calls for the concerted assistance of other branches. In order to promote the tech-

nical revolution, overall co-operation must be strengthened among all branches of the national economy, all offices and all enterprises, and all reserves must be efficiently used in the interests of our entire country.

We will be confronted with many obstacles in carrying out the technical revolution, but none can check our advance or break the will of our people to leave backwardness behind as soon as possible.

Our people have lived through the grimmest ordeals of war and the sternest difficulties of postwar rehabilitation and construction. All of our tasks, without exception, have been attended with difficulties, but they have all been triumphantly carried through to completion, thanks to the correct leadership of the Party and the heroic struggle of the people. If we go on with the same stamina and fighting spirit, we will certainly succeed in scaling the peak of the technical revolution.

In fact, we started rehabilitation and construction on the war debris at a time when there was not a single brickyard or cement factory in operation and when all our blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and all other major facilities were destroyed. The memory of those days is still fresh in our minds.

One day, about a month before the armistice, I called in Comrade Paek Hong Gwon, who was then Minister of the Chemical and Building-materials Industries, and, together with some other comrades, we discussed the problem of building brickyards. The war was still going on, and we could not call in any experts, so we made an estimate by ourselves. But not having any table of standards and not knowing how to make the exact calculations, we were at a loss as to how to proceed. So I asked how many bricks were used in building Kim Il Sung University before the war. They said about 3 million were used. At that rate, I suggested, we would have to set up brickyards in many places as soon as the war ended in order to produce more than 600 million bricks annually because we would have to put up at least 200 buildings as big as Kim Il Sung University every year. All those present opened their eyes in astonishment and doubted that so many bricks would be need-

ed. It was a rough estimate, but a pretty close one, I should say. At present, 700 to 800 million bricks are being produced every year and despite the fact that concrete blocks are also being used, we still fall short of the number needed. We decided to build a brickyard at Kangnam to begin with, but, as the skilled workers had all been scattered, there was no one who could build the smokestack properly. The one put up did not draw well. As there was no help, we called together the scattered skilled workers, and rebuilt the smokestack. Then it was destroyed by enemy bombing and had to be built all over again.

As you can imagine, we were in tight straits economically and our officials were very poorly qualified towards the end of the war. It was not easy even to make a brick; we did not know how to build a smokestack; and, as we did not know how to make an estimate of the number of bricks needed, we were obliged to resort to a crude method of reckoning. It was under these circumstances that we began our rehabilitation and construction.

Well, how does the situation stand now? Everything has changed beyond recognition. Now is the summer of 1960, and it defies all comparison with the summer of 1953, the year the war ended. We have really made great progress in a short period of time.

When the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party laid down the line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and set the gigantic tasks of postwar economic construction, some people sneered, saying that the Central Committee of the Workers' Party was talking through its hat. Quite a few people came out against the Party's line of laying the foundations for our national industry, alleging that there was no point in constructing so many factories at a time when we were pressed for food and clothing. Even some of those who aided us by supplying machines asked why we did not take textiles but only took machines and whether we thought we could live on machines. Really, nobody

cranes and bulldozers; it is needed practically everywhere. But it is not easy to make wire rope everywhere. Therefore, the Heavy Industry Commission should produce and supply goods of this sort in large quantities.

The demands of many branches of the economy for pipes, gauges, bearings, etc., must, likewise, be fully met. And, in the case of steel materials, instead of turning out just any large pieces at random, a sufficient amount of steel materials of different sizes should be produced by installing more rolling equipment and properly readjusting it. Only by so doing can we successfully manufacture diverse kinds of machines and equipment and step up technological renovation in all branches of our national economy.

An urgent problem in developing the machine-building industry is that of specializing the production of castings. I raised this problem once a long time ago, but it has not been solved yet, due to the lukewarm attitude of the workers in the branches concerned. So, I am stressing this question again at this Plenary Meeting.

we build a factory, to concentrate our technical forces on ensuring good quality for castings and to reduce iron wastage to a minimum. Moreover, specialization of the production of castings alone will make it possible to put an end to such practices as the workers' pouring iron by hand, using ladles, and carrying materials on their backs as they are doing now. With specialization, we can mechanize the entire process, prevent dust and raise labour productivity markedly.

But the Heavy Industry Commission has not done this, nor has the Pyongyang City People's Committee, claiming that the designing has not been completed as yet. The chairmen of the provincial Party committees, when going back to their respective provinces, must see to it, as a Party task, that the provincial economic committees take concrete measures to solve the question of specializing the production of castings.

Now, I propose that specialization be introduced in the production of spare parts as well, that the work load of the repair and maintenance shop of every factory be lightened and that such shops be simplified.

At present, there is hardly any factory that does not have its own repair and maintenance shop—and a big one, at that. Thus, various sorts of spare parts are made haphazardly. Nowadays it is regarded as a matter of course that a big repair and maintenance shop equipped with many machine tools should be set up when building a factory, and it has become a rule for every factory to make all the spare parts that it requires. We may call this a hangover of the capitalist way of organizing production, wherein every factory owned by capitalists produces in an arbitrary manner. There is no need to organize production in this way under our socialist economic system.

It is far more effective to produce and supply in a comprehensive way those spare parts needed in common by various factories, while equipping the repair and maintenance shop in a simple manner at every factory to produce the specific spare parts needed exclusively by that factory. Only by so doing can we make the most intensive and effective use of machine tools and save much social labour. At present, in the many repair and

maintenance shops of our factories, the utilization rate of the equipment is very low; and labour productivity is likewise low and there is much waste because repair and maintenance shops in each place undertake for themselves the production of bolts, nuts, coupling devices and other parts.

It is advisable to change the organization of production at an early date so that standard parts may be turned out in specialized factories. Take screws, for instance. How convenient it would be if each factory could order standard screws from specialized factories, instead of going to the trouble of making screws of diverse specifications at its repair and maintenance shop whenever they are required! This would make it possible to produce several times as many screws with the same amount of labour and materials and markedly raise their quality as well. The repair and maintenance shops in the factories should make only a few kinds of specific parts, using a small number of machine tools and workers, and rely on the specialized factories for other kinds of parts to repair their equipment regularly. Some factories might even be operated from the start without their own repair and maintenance shops.

Such standardization and specialization of the production of spare parts would not only be instrumental in raising the utilization rate of equipment and economizing on labour and materials, but would also be highly advantageous in improving the work of designing, raising the quality of machines and bettering technical management. We must energetically push forward the work of specializing the production of parts as well as tools, jigs and other implements, and of making simpler repair and maintenance shops in the factories.

Another point I would like to emphasize in regard to the machine-building industry is the need for the large-scale introduction of the stamping method. At present the cutting method is mainly employed, while stamping method is rarely used. Here, too, I think, a change is needed.

The application of the cutting method requires many processes. Moreover, iron is wasted, precision is not properly ensured and the process is slow. But when the stamping method

is employed on a large scale, a lot of work can be done quickly, far fewer machine tools are needed, iron wastage is reduced and high precision is ensured. We suggested that this method be introduced extensively, and functionaries in the machine industry have promised to do this but have not yet done so. We must boldly carry out what we have decided to do and even now we must start popularizing the stamping method widely.

We are able to manufacture any number of presses on our own all over. So far, through the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, we have mainly increased the number of metal-cutting machines. Now we must launch a movement to produce more presses. Various presses, large and small, including those of 100 and 500 tons, must be made and the Heavy Industry Commission must supply the steel necessary for their construction. Only then can farm machines, machines needed in local industry and various other pieces of equipment be turned out faster, better, and in larger numbers.

One of the most urgent tasks we must tackle in technological renovation is to improve our work of designing. Our Party gave close attention to the training of designers even under the most difficult conditions of war, and it vigorously pushed this work ahead particularly in the postwar years. As a result, many designers have been trained and we are now able to design and turn out for ourselves precision machines, heavy machinery and other kinds of machines and equipment whose designing and production were beyond us in the past. However, our corps of designers still falls far short of the demand. It has, therefore, become a matter of urgency that we make the most effective use of our present corps of designers, while training more for the future.

What measures are required for us to make a rational use of our limited corps of designers? Specialization is needed in this field, too. Since there still is no specialization in the work of designing, our designers must now work on any jobs that are assigned to them. Designing is performed in such a haphazard manner that a designer must work now on one machine

design, now on another, then on yet another. So, each time he is forced to consult books in order to do his job. This costs dearly both in labour and in time, and the designs are not of a high quality either. No strict specialization is now practised in any of our designing institutes, and a single institute draws up designs of every kind.

This way of organizing work should be definitely corrected. To cite an example, the designing of machine tools should be concentrated in one specific designing institute on a national basis. We will decide later where this institute should be located, whether in Kusong or in Huichon. But the suggestion is that the designing of machine tools should, in any case, be specialized at one institute alone and that all the ministries and branches should get the designs of the appropriate standard from this institute to turn out machine tools, instead of going to the trouble of designing machine tools for themselves. Another example is the designing of electric motors. This is being done by different establishments separately, but I suggest that, instead, electric motors, generators and other electric machines all be designed by one institute. This will free the establishments and branches from the need to draw up their own designs for the electrical machinery they need and will enable them to obtain blueprints of motors, generators, etc., of the required size from this institute and to produce them as many as they want.

The Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee and the Heavy Industry Commission should play a central role in taking concrete measures to introduce specialization in the work of designing, on the basis of a correct estimate of the corps of designers available in each branch.

The introduction of the gasification of coal in production, as pointed out in the report and referred to in speeches, is of very great significance in technological renovation in our country today.

During a recess yesterday, I saw a synthetic-rubber tyre, the result of research at Kim Il Sung University. It was quite satisfactory.

For its mass production, however, it is urgent to solve the question of raw materials. Some comrades have proposed the extensive cultivation of potatoes and sweet potatoes to obtain alcohol, that would enable us to produce synthetic rubber. But it is difficult to employ this method in our country, which has a small area of arable land. That is why the Presidium of the Party Central Committee was against the proposal for using arable land to obtain raw materials.

Our country has inexhaustible deposits of limestone. We must make carbide from the limestone to obtain alcohol. This is the only way. In the future, we must continue to follow the line of obtaining carbide, in accordance with our domestic resources and our actual conditions.

However, this requires a lot of electricity, so it is of particular importance that we gasify coal by using oxygen instead of electricity.

Moreover, our power supply is insufficient at present, so we cannot turn out as much fertilizer as we want. Once the question of the gasification of coal is solved, we will be able to compound ammonia and produce any amount of fertilizer without using electricity. The solution to the questions of extracting alcohol and making rubber from it, of compounding ammonia to produce large quantities of fertilizer for higher yields of grain and other crops, of using domestic coal in metallurgy to save on coke, as well as the solution to many other questions, depends, to a great extent, on the gasification of coal Therefore, those who solve the question of the gasification of coal will make a great contribution to the development of the national economy of our country and are patriots who will earn the well-deserved esteem of all our people.

But, in the past two or three years, we have never gone beyond the talking stage and, in practice, very little progress has been made in the research work for this field The State Planning Commission, giving one pretext or another, has failed to vigorously push ahead with research work on the gasification of coal. This is not correct. Once an orientation has been decided upon, it should be followed without vacillation The et-

forts of scientists and technicians should be enlisted and all the necessary conditions provided to solve the question of the gasification of coal.

In the renovation of our technology, we should place great emphasis on chemicalization. This will assure the quickest solution to our problem of consolidating raw-material bases for light industry in our country.

Above all, a boost should be given to the work of laying foundations for the production of synthetic resins. When the vinyl chloride factory now under construction is put into operation, raw materials needed for making various new kinds of articles for daily use will be produced and high-quality materials supplied for construction, as well. At present, our scientists are very eager to work, but they are not being given proper assistance by the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. All the apparatuses and reagents needed in research work must be provided and measures taken to solve, in a timely and satisfactory way, the technical questions which arise in the production and processing of synthetic resins.

Moreover, we should make every effort to accelerate the construction of the vinalon factory. When the construction of this factory is completed, not only will fine synthetic fibre be turned out, but an important basis for our country's chemical industry will be laid. All branches should make the utmost effort to ensure the completion of the construction of the vinalon factory ahead of schedule.

Another important task is that of developing an electronics industry. It is a serious defect that we have no such factories in our country as yet. During a visit to a foreign country, I had an opportunity to inspect a factory of this kind. We, too, can build and operate such a factory, and it is high time that we did so. We must create and develop an electronics industry in the near future, thus opening up a new phase in technological renovation.

2. ON THE MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

I would like to refer briefly to the mechanization of agriculture.

While making a tour of the Changsong, Pyokdong and Sakju areas recently, I pondered over how we could step up mechanization in the mountain regions. Large tractors, even if supplied in great numbers, cannot be used effectively in such places where the plots are all small, the fields are dotted over with stone heaps, many of them sloping, and the villages are far off. They may be of service for hauling, but are not suitable for field work in those areas. And, since the distance to be covered is great, lorries are more serviceable than tractors for hauling. It is no accident that the rate of utilization of large tractors allocated to the mountain regions is very low. What, then, is to be done? Medium-sized tractors must definitely be built in large numbers and supplied to those regions. In fact, large tractors are almost useless there.

If we manufacture a large number of 10 or 15-h.p. tractors and send them to the mountain regions, ploughing can be fully mechanized even on fairly small plots. We should test the 10 or 15-h.p. tractor which the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute designed for use on sloping land. If it turns out to be efficient, we should see that tractors of that type are produced as soon as possible.

Hauling, farming and many other types of work in the mountain regions can be mechanized when more lorries are supplied and medium-sized tractors of this kind are sent there. Medium-sized tractors can be used without any problem for hauling on comparatively narrow, rugged paths. A 10-h.p. tractor can haul a load weighing a ton and a 15-h.p. tractor can easily do a load of 1-1.5 tons. Medium-sized tractors, if used in proper combination with various tractor-drawn farm implements, will make it possible to mechanize all work such as ploughing, planting, inter-row cultivation, weeding and harvest-

ing. Tractor engines can also be especially used to provide power for thrashing, cutting and processing fodder and pumping water.

Up to now, bringing mechanization to the mountain regions in a short period of time posed a problem, even though we could ensure rapid mechanization on the plains. Now, however, we have a definite prospect that, if medium-sized tractors are used extensively, mechanization will be possible even in the remote mountain areas.

Mechanization of our agriculture will benefit us in many ways. The peasants will be able to get in big harvests of grain and industrial crops, even while working with ease; part of the cattle used as draught animals will be improved to provide us with milk and beef; and the problem of fodder for meat production will be solved by cultivating two crops a year. Therefore, nothing can be more beneficial to the welfare of the peasants and the rest of our people. Mechanization must be carried out any way.

The sooner agriculture is mechanized, the better. We first began mechanization on the plains, but now we must push ahead with all-out mechanization everywhere, both on the plains and in the mountain regions. We must allocate a considerable number of large tractors to the plains and small ones to the mountain regions, thus ensuring mechanization in all parts of the country. It all hinges on turning out tractors and other farm machines speedily in large numbers.

Enhancing the role of the farm-machine stations is still an important question in the mechanization of agriculture. The utilization rate of farm machines is still very low. Tractors stand idle in the garages of quite a few farm-machine stations after the spring ploughing. It is a very serious matter for machines to stand idle while a shortage of work hands holds back timely weeding and the peasants are working with their hands and carrying loads on their backs. If tractors are kept just to be looked at instead of being used, we might do better to pin up a picture of a tractor on the wall and look at it.

Once valuable machines are supplied by the state, they

should not be left idle even for a short while, but should be kept in constant use. If all of us study the matter and display initiative, we can do all our work with machines. Rice, maize, wheat, barley, potatoes and other crops can all be grown by machines, and all the work, including ploughing, harrowing, planting, weeding and harvesting, can be mechanized. Arguments that broad-furrow planting can be done only by draught animals and not by tractors and that this or that kind of work can hardly be done by machines all stem from bigotry. In order to advance technological renovations, we must do away with such bigotry, and think and act boldly.

The workers at the farm-machine stations must continue to make serious efforts to mechanize as many kinds of jobs as possible and ease the peasants' work to the maximum They should never tolerate keeping any machines idle. Only by so doing can the farm-machine stations honourably fulfil their role as bases of the technical revolution in the countryside.

3. ON THE MECHANIZATION OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

The question of mechanizing local industry holds an important place in the technical revolution today. In this regard, I would like to say a few words only about the food industry which is its most backward branch.

As pointed out in the report, it is very urgent that we produce soy sauce and bean paste in large quantities by industrial methods and guarantee their smooth supply to the entire population including the peasants. Moreover, these two products should be something truly out of the ordinary, even more delicious than those made by individual families for their own use.

The food industry has the responsibility of making and supplying appetizing foods in convenient form to the working people. There are many things to be done in this field at present. For example, large quantities of flour have been supplied

recently, and it would be very convenient to make vermicelli with it and distribute them. However, this kind of work is not being done. In Pyongyang, nobody organizes such work, even though some of the equipment at the Cornstarch Factory is lying idle.

Factory and school cafeterias make only bread and serve it every day, although they could serve a varied menus without difficulty if they just made a vermicelli ricer or a device for making dumplings. Workers and students complain that they are fed up with bread, and small wonder! Why do those concerned not think of serving different menus that appeal to us Koreans, making vermicelli, dumpling soup, stuffed dumpling and so on? How can those people who are disinclined to do even such an elementary thing profess to carry out the technical revolution? They must do away with old habits once and for all and lend culture to the table by processing foodstuffs better.

The processing of maize by industrial methods is a matter of urgency. Yesterday, together with some other comrades, I visited the Cornstarch Factory to make a study of the processing of maize, which is very important because it provides us with starch, glucose, edible oil, etc. We should devote our special efforts to quickly solving the problem of separating embryo buds from maize and extracting oil from them.

We have 700,000 to 800,000 *chongbo* of maize fields. If each *chongbo* yields two tons, we will harvest every year about 1.5 million tons of maize. Maize is said to have an oil yield of 3 per cent. So, from only a million tons of maize, we can obtain 30,000 tons of edible oil. In the case of bean oil, we get only 50 kilogrammes from a *chongbo* of bean field. Therefore, in terms of oil, a million tons of maize is equal to 600,000 *chongbo* of bean fields.

We must lose no time in building factories to separate embryo buds from maize and extract oil from them. If you find it difficult to come up with a new design, you had better set up small-scale factories similar in structure to the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory. Only when we have definitely solved this problem and gone in for cultivating various other oil-bearing

crops in a big way, extracting large quantities of oil, can we successfully accomplish, within a short period, the task set by the Party of supplying our people each day with 20 grammes of edible oil per capita.

Meanwhile, the food industry should continue to give close attention to widely acquiring and processing the food resources abundant in the local areas.

This year there is a shortage of alcoholic beverages in Pyongyang and many other cities. Only the people of Changsong County have had enough, and they have even supplied large quantities to other districts. This is explained by the fact that the people of that county, faithfully carrying out the Party's policy, have been steadily developing an industry for making alcoholic beverages from such wild fruits as haws, wild strawberries and wild pears since last year.

There is no region in our country that does not have mountains, and no mountain without such fruits as wild grapes, mountain cranberries, haws, wild strawberries and wild pears. Not only that. We have planted many fruit trees and are constantly expanding our orchards. We must pick all these fruits in time and develop industries for processing them everywhere on a full scale. In this way we will be able to produce, at low cost, various kinds of good wines, fruit syrups, dried fruit and canned fruit of high quality to meet the people's needs

4. ON IMPROVING THE TRAINING OF *TECHNICAL PERSONNEL*

In closing, a few words on the training of technical personnel.

With the rapid progress of our socialist construction, the demand for technical personnel today is greater than ever before. Our Party has put a lot of efforts into training the nation's technical cadres all along and, especially, last year it raised the

number of our institutes of higher learning from 20 to 37 and set up a great many specialized schools.

Why, then, is our need for technical personnel so great at present? Because our country's industry and agriculture are developing at an unprecedented rate and the technical revolution is being accelerated very fast in all branches of our national economy.

At present new techniques are urgently required and great numbers of personnel equipped with modern technical know-how are needed in all parts of our country. We cannot make headway without producing greater numbers of competent technical cadres more quickly by completely revamping the training of our technical personnel.

To keep the training of our technical personnel up with the rapid pace of the development of our country's productive forces and of the technical revolution, it is important, first of all, to direct the attention of the whole Party to this matter, and to turn all conditions and possibilities to the best account.

Indeed, it is a matter of no small importance that we increased the number of institutes of higher learning by 17 in a single year. It took courage to take such a daring measure, but we still have a long way to go. In order to effect an all-round technical revolution and to turn our country into a developed industrial state in the coming Seven-Year Plan period, we must expand the ranks of our technical cadres radically.

The regular institutes of higher learning are not enough to do the job, so we must set up many technical colleges in the large factories, mines, enterprises and agricultural and livestock farms so that our working people can study while on the job. We must also vigorously develop correspondence courses and evening schools so that many working people can become technicians within a short period of time. At the same time, we must continue to launch energetically a whole-Party, all-people movement aimed at equipping all Party members, young people and women with more than one technical skill.

Many shortcomings have to be overcome and a tremendous amount of work done to improve and strengthen the training of

our technical personnel along these lines. All possible forms and methods must be applied and all reserves tapped to train a large number of technicians.

We must carry on with vigour both the technological renovation and the training of technical personnel. No matter how many machines we produce and supply, they will give us no help if we do not have any machinists. The kind of technicians we need most urgently and in the greatest numbers are mechanical engineers.

In the future, when ten tractors are allocated to each agricultural co-operative, it will need to have at least one technician versed in machines. It will also need an electrician, an agronomist and an expert in animal husbandry. This means we must send four or five technicians to each co-operative, or about 20,000 to the agricultural co-operatives throughout the country. We can provide all the rural areas with tractors within the next five or six years, but we can hardly train so many technicians in the existing engineering and agricultural colleges alone. This is why we intend to train technical personnel everywhere, by employing supplementary methods consistent with the actual conditions of our country.

Here is an instance illustrating how urgently technicians are needed. Lately, on the initiative of the Party, more than 5,000 agronomists were sent to the countryside. A change has already been noted in the agricultural co-operatives to which they were allocated. You must understand that the presence of a person equipped with modern science and technology in the village exerts a very great influence on the farm work of the co-operative.

Even an assistant engineer who has been graduated from a specialized school plays an important role, to say nothing of an engineer with a college education and a lot of experience. One assistant engineer allocated to an agricultural co-operative in Changsong County, a young girl who had been graduated from the Charyongwan specialized sericulture school, brought about an innovation in silkworm raising as soon as she got to the co-operative. Formerly, the co-operative had gathered 17

kilogrammes of cocoons from every 100 grammes of silkworm eggs, but the figure rose to 34 kilogrammes after this girl got there. No sooner had young assistant engineers fresh from the specialized technical schools been sent to local textile factories than they boldly undertook such tasks as making wooden power looms and motorizing textile equipment on their own. This is what the assistant engineers are doing, and still bigger innovations will surely be effected one after another in all places when a competent engineer is sent to every co-operative and factory. It is, therefore, necessary for our schools, factories, mines and farm and fishing villages to devote every effort to training more good technicians faster.

And, as is pointed out in the report, the ideological education of our technicians should be constantly strengthened. Needless to say, our technicians, as Red intellectuals whom either the Party has re-educated or we have newly trained, vigorously support our Party's policies and devotedly serve the revolutionary cause of the working class. Particularly, our technicians have been further tempered ideologically in the course of the upsurge of socialist construction and the dynamic development of the Chollima Movement. However, there are still some individuals who, for lack of the necessary revolutionary spirit, waver or hesitate when confronted with a difficult task. In order to prevent such things from happening, we must unremittingly conduct communist education among our technicians and educate them in our revolutionary traditions.

The technical revolution and the training of technical personnel are both, in the final analysis, aimed at completely eliminating the historical backwardness of our productive forces and at turning our country into a rich, powerful and advanced industrial state in a short period of time. Only when these tasks are successfully accomplished, with the mobilization of the whole Party and the entire people, will it be possible for our working people to free themselves from arduous and toilsome labour and create more wealth with less effort and for us to turn the northern half more rapidly into a veritable paradise for the people. Only then will the basic task of the Korean rev-

olution, that of achieving our country's reunification and complete national independence, be more quickly and victoriously carried out.

I am firmly convinced that all Party members and working people, upholding the decisions adopted at this Plenary Meeting, will work devotedly and fulfil with credit the programmatic tasks of the technical revolution, which is of decisive significance in our socialist construction at the present time.

LET US CREATE LITERATURE AND ART SUITABLE TO THE CHOLLIMA AGE

Talk with Writers, Composers and Film Workers

November 27, 1960

Today I would like to make a few remarks to you about the problem of developing our literature and art.

Our literature and art have a long historical tradition. We have had beautiful songs and dances from olden times. After liberation our literature and art made rapid progress, and now they are blossoming magnificently. Today our art really deserves the distinction of "golden art."

In past years our writers and artists have done a great deal of work, upholding the Party's policy on literature and art. I greatly appreciate the efforts you have made in your dedicated struggle to develop our national art, which had been under the heel of the invaders so long, into what it is today.

However, we cannot be satisfied with the successes we have already achieved. Our life is advancing rapidly and the people are asking for a more beautiful and dynamic art.

Currently, our literature and art are lagging behind the developing life of our people and are failing to keep up with heir demands.

People are right when they call our age a Chollima age, nd they consider themselves infinitely blessed to be living d working in this great era.

We are struggling in all spheres of socialist construction

in the spirit of taking a hundred steps while others take ten, and running a hundred *ri* while others run ten. In fact, the Chollima spirit has become the life creed of our people.

Maintaining the grand Chollima advance for several years, we have built the basis of socialist industrialization and laid firm foundations for the construction of a rich and powerful socialist country. Though we cannot say as yet that we are living in affluence, our people are free of the worries and anxieties about food, clothing and housing, and everybody enjoys a happy and promising life. By the time we have braced ourselves once more and have fulfilled the Seven-Year Plan, our country will have become an advanced socialist industrial state and the people's standards of living will be dramatically improved. Our achievements are great and we have a bright future ahead of us.

Naturally, our literature and art should forcefully represent this great, creative life of our people who are rushing ahead in the Chollima spirit. Our literature and art should depict the meaningful life and heroic struggle of the people of the Chollima age and vividly express their hopes and desires.

To our regret, however, our literature and art fail to truthfully reflect the spirit of our age and to give a vivid representation of the sentiments and aspirations of the builders of socialism.

First of all, there are very few works based on the vibrant daily life of our people. The traditional opera, *Tale of Chunhyang*, is all very well, and so is the play *Admiral Li Sun Sin*. We should, of course, have a good knowledge of our past. But what we need more urgently is the present rather than the past. Even when we use the past, we should start with the subjects directly associated with the revolutionary struggle of our people today.

For education in the revolutionary traditions and class education, we should continue to create many works that represent the indefatigable battle of our revolutionaries during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the heroic struggle of our people at the time of the democratic revolution, the Fatherland Liberation War and the postwar rehabilitation and construction.

Quite a few of the works which have dealt with these subjects have been successful. And those works have contributed greatly to educating the working people in the communist revolutionary spirit.

And what we lack most right now are works which portray today's realities. We have very few works of art which portray the new heroes our Chollima age has produced. Our writers and artists exalt the heroes of the past, but they fail to see the heroes of today who are creating a new, meaningful life. This is one of our contemporary writers' great weaknesses.

Of course, it is true that it is far more difficult to depict the life and heroes of the present than to depict the life and heroes of the past. Life today has a more complex and diverse content than in the past. Much study and effort are needed to give an adequate representation to the complex and rich contents of our contemporary heroes' life. But if we can succeed in producing an excellent work of art about today's realities, it will be able to play a far greater role in the education of the working people than one that depicts the past.

All works of literature and art should, after all, serve to teach our people of today how to live, work and struggle. That is why writers and artists should pay more attention to contemporary reality than to the past. The more closely a work portrays actual life, the more valuable it can be.

A certain foreign writer said to us that the play *Admiral Li Sun Sin* is often staged in Korea, but the Korean people's Fatherland Liberation War must have produced many a Li Sun Sin. I think he was right when he said so. In our contemporary times, there are numerous patriots who are wiser and braver than Li Sun Sin.

We can find new men everywhere, and our literature and art should represent them. Many Chollima riders work in factories and enterprises such as machine-building plants, metallurgical works, textile mills, etc., and in the countryside and the fishing villages. At present, Chollima workteams alone number more than 850 and model agricultural co-operatives, over 1,000. The Chollima riders are all admirable heroes of our

day. The trouble is that our writers and artists fail to recognize today's real heroes.

The film art is notably backward in literature and art. As a means of mass education the movies have a very important position. Our cinema, however, is at a low level. There is no film which has portrayed our heroic working class and also none worth seeing which has depicted our peasantry.

We accomplished the revolutionary task of co-operativizing individual farming and rooting out exploitation and poverty for good in the countryside in the brief span of only four to five years. But there is not a single film that records this great change. True, a film has come out which depicts the efforts of the workers of the Ryongsong Machine Plant to produce machines and equipment for the Hwanghae Iron Works. But it is not satisfactory. I will not mention the defects of this film. Many works based on our realities should be produced, and we should not mind a few shortcomings in them

Lately, I have thought a lot about how to help our cinematic art portray the meaningful life and struggle of the new men of our times, of the heroes who have come from the working people and of the Chollima riders. If we produce even one good film of this kind, it will greatly encourage our working people and become a powerful weapon to educate thousands, even tens of thousands, of people to become new men

In producing films that cater to the demands of our times, it is most important to truthfully reflect the struggle between the new and the old and vividly show the superiority of the socialist system which opens up broad and unlimited vistas for the people.

These films should emphasize the idea that it is not machinery but men that play the decisive role in production. The films should give prominence to the Marxist-Leninist outlook that a meaningful life is created not by the strength of one or two eminent persons, but by the struggle of millions of working people who are conscious of their historical mission. The hero of such a film should be portrayed as a typical new man who is cheerful and optimistic, a man who does not [illegible]

to difficulties and has a very strong will to move forward. We should skilfully depict a course of life in which a man, once subjected to humiliation and oppression, labours devotedly in the face of ordeals and succeeds at the end due to his strenuous efforts and moral improvement.

In our country there are now countless people who are qualified as heroes of this type. Our Chollima riders numbering thousands and tens of thousands are all heroes of our era, smashing all that is backward and creating a new, good society by their heroic struggle and creative labour. And it is most regrettable that there is not a single film which represents the Chollima riders.

Indeed, there are also shortcomings in the performances of our actors and actresses in our films, but that does not seem to matter much. There are people who say that no good films are produced because the studios do their work poorly, but that is not the case. The job of the studios is mainly the technical side of the production and not the ideological content of the films.

The main point is the ideological content of the films, which is very poor.

For instance, I saw a film which handled the love problem. It had no ideological content at all; it was quite insipid. It will not do for us to depict love for love's sake. Love for love's sake is a manifestation of naturalism. It has no educational value for us and, what is more, it can be rather harmful.

Love between men and women of a new type must serve the noble aims of the revolutionary cause, and be closely linked with the struggle for victory in the revolution. Our films, therefore, should hit out at the decadent love of those who forget the revolutionary cause and indulge only in personal enjoyment, and should exemplify the noble and beautiful love of a new type of young people who are waging a heroic struggle for the great aims of socialist construction, helping and leading each other forward.

The question of ideological content should be settled first of all by the scenario writers. No good film is being turned out

because the scenario writers fail to write good works. If the scenario writers turn out good scripts, there is no reason why good films cannot be produced even though the studios have some failings and shortcomings. The trouble now is in the scenarios.

The musical setting is also largely responsible for the low quality of our films. Scenes of valour ought to be accompanied by songs that are stirring and full of hope. But they are not. Because inappropriate songs that do not correspond to the scenes on the screen are thrown in haphazardly, the audiences are not impressed.

Our music, too, is lagging way behind reality. It fails to express truthfully the great forward movement of our people who are rushing ahead like the wind. There are no good new songs being turned out for our Chollima riders to sing vigorously and cheerfully. Blue water runs across the mountains and the rivers to wet the paddies and dry fields; tractors and lorries work the fields and carry the loads in place of human hands and feet, still we do not hear lively and beautiful songs which sing the praises of this epoch-making change in the countryside.

The music-and-dance epic *Our Glorious Fatherland* is indeed a big piece of work, but it is a medley, and not a great unified work. There is no ground whatever for complacency merely because a work like this has been created.

Songs must be composed to suit the sentiments of the people. When a battle is on, songs suited to the battle are needed, and when work is being done, songs appropriate to labour are needed. Songs sung when rice seedlings are bedded out should be different from those hummed when earth loads are poled in pairs, though both are work songs. Thus, only when songs suitable to the given occasions are sung, can the soldiers fight valiantly and the workers and peasants increase production. There can be no one song that well suits every place and time, and only those songs which reflect the spirit of the times and suit the given circumstances can appeal to the hearts of people.

This is not a time to sing only the pear-blossom ballad. To-

day, more than ever we need joyful and stirring songs which rouse people to creative labour. When people sing encouraging, stirring songs, they forget weariness and fatigue.

People are fond of the *Chollima March* because it has reflected the spirit of our era and is in keeping with the sentiments of our people. *A New Song Flows Out of the Village Across the River*, sung in the way they sing the western provincial ballad, appeals to me. It has a Korean flavour, and encourages us when we hear it.

The *Weavers' Song* and *Song of the Well Side* are also good. However, we cannot sing just these few songs all the time. We should have many new songs. But when we hear many of the new songs that have been turned out recently, such as the *Song of Smelters* and *Song of Machine Workers,* we do not feel anything new, because they are all rehashes of old tunes in one way or another, and there is little to choose between in their melodies.

In songs, too, the important thing is the ideological content.

A song for song's sake is of no use, and those which merely sing the praises of nature are also of little value. True, songs which eulogize the beauty of nature please people. But more valuable are songs which give expression to the earnest life of the people and their struggle for the attainment of their great aims. The attitude of singing the praises of nature alone, keeping aloof from social life, is an expression of naturalism or the art-for-art's-sake doctrine and it harmfully influences the working people to abandon the struggle.

The people like songs of a high ideological standard. Only those songs which the people accept, love and sing with pleasure are useful; what is the use of songs which only a few experts understand and like? The ideological viewpoint that art can be understood only by experts, is fundamentally wrong.

The people are the real critics of art. No critic is wiser than the people. Works that have passed the judgment of the people should be regarded as good works, and those which have not, as bad ones. Novels, poetry, music, cinema and all other

arts should be intelligible to the masses of the people and should serve them.

There are certainly shortcomings in the work of our literature and art at present. All our people are racing ahead in the spirit of Chollima riders, and there is no reason why the scenario writers or composers alone should lag behind. Our writers and artists, too, must, and can, ride Chollima to create great works. The question is to eliminate the shortcomings in this branch as soon as possible.

The principal defects in the work of literature and art are, first, that the writers and artists still have not deeply grasped the Party's policies, second, that the writers and artists fail to delve deeply into the life of the people; and, third, that the organizational leadership in this branch is poor.

All our writers and artists want our people to build socialism faster and better so they can live more happily, and they support our people's Chollima Movement. However, the Chollima spirit is not well embodied in the creative activities of the writers. This, after all, is proof that our writers have not yet fully accepted the Chollima spirit, and that they are not breathing the same air as the masses of the people. If you accept the Chollima spirit, you should turn out works which express the same spirit.

First of all, I think that our writers and artists need to make a serious study to determine the ideological roots of their failure to grasp the spirit of the times properly. The trouble seems to be that our writers do not, after all, have a profound grasp of the Party policy.

The vanguard of our people is our Party. Without knowing the intentions of the Party well, it is impossible to have a correct understanding of the great forward movement of our people. One cannot really understand our realities simply by going into the factories or the countryside at random without deeply studying the Party policy. Only those who are firmly armed with our Party's policy can distinguish the new and the old and correctly discern the essentials among the complexities of reality. Hence, before anything else, writers and artists

should make a deep study of our Party's policy to understand its revolutionary stand and scientific, Marxist-Leninist attitude and methods in relation to the realities.

Our literature and art should by no means depart from the interests of the revolution and the Party's line, nor should they tolerate those elements which cater to the taste and liking of the exploiting classes. Only revolutionary literature and art based thoroughly on the line and policy of the Party can truly enjoy the love of the masses of people and become a powerful Party weapon in educating the working masses in the revolutionary spirit of communism.

All the lines and policies of our Party have proceeded from our country's realities and are an expression of the interests of our people. The Party policy is embodied in actual life through the practical struggle of the toiling masses.

Only literature and art born of the realities and closely linked with the practical activities of the masses, can become a truly Party and revolutionary literature and art. Only realistic works of literature and art which give a vivid and profound portrayal of actual life, can appeal to the hearts of people.

Writers, therefore, should know the realities well and delve deeply into the life of the masses of people.

As long as writers and artists remain sitting in Pyongyang, nothing will happen. The life and struggle that impassion people can be seen only when one visits factories and can be experienced only when one goes to the countryside. A good knowledge of realities can be obtained only when you keep constant contact with the workers and peasants and delve deeply into their life.

You should carefully observe the life of the workers and peasants. But observation alone is not enough. Our writers and artists should plunge daringly into the flames of the workers' and peasants' struggle and acquire the ability to view actual life with the same feelings the fighting workers and peasants have. Only then can they be called writers and artists who have experienced the life of our people, only then can they create

works which enjoy the love of the popular masses and serve them.

Without knowing the people's life well, you cannot truthfully depict our realities and correctly represent the thinking, sentiments and features of the new man of today.

Young people of today are different from those of the past, and old people are also not the same as those of days gone by. Nor can actors correctly portray the new men who are constantly changing and developing, unless they dig into the realities.

What our writers and artists should be particularly concerned about today when they go down to factories or farm villages, is discovering a new type of men and making a good, detailed study of their life. If our writers make a good picture of the happy and worthwhile life of a Chollima rider, it can be good material for the education of thousands and tens of thousands of working people.

At present our Party exerts great efforts to educate and remould the masses. School education or propaganda and agitation alone are not enough for this purpose. Only by mobilizing all forms of literature and art such as novels, poetry, plays, the cinema and music—which are excellent means of mass education—can you effectively conduct the work of educating and remoulding the masses.

In particular, those works which portray Chollima riders are very good means for carrying out our Party's policy of educating people through positive examples

Of late, our Party has made some change in methods of educating people. While in the past the emphasis in the education of people was on criticism of negative phenomena, prominence is now given to positive examples.

We have also stopped carrying satires in the newspapers The satires are a practice imported from abroad, and they do not quite agree with the natural idiosyncrasy of the Koreans We have thrown them into the dustbin of dogmatism as an educational method which consists only in dredging up the people's defects. Our newspapers carry exemplary facts and mov-

ing, praiseworthy episodes instead of satirizing, educating people with them.

Following the March 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the guardhouse system in our People's Army was abolished and the internal regulations were also revised. This guardhouse system, also, does not agree with our people. People should be educated not by forcible methods, but by persevering persuasion and positive examples.

What is the result of the abolition of the guardhouse system? Some time ago, I visited People's Army units and had talks with soldiers. At that time, I asked a first sergeant if there was any violation of discipline after the abolition of the guardhouse system, and he answered there was none. So I questioned: how could it be possible that there had not been even a single case of violation of discipline in two years? Then, he admitted that there had been one such case: a private used to doze off at every meeting. So, the first sergeant, thinking that it was because he did not let his men have sufficient rest, sent them to bed early. After that, he said, no comrade ever fell asleep at a meeting.

Later, I visited a certain brigade on the east coast and asked the same thing. An officer answered that there had been a case of violation of discipline. According to him, a private had slipped out secretly at night to see his girl friend and then returned. So I said that if the political workers had delved deeply into the life of the soldiers and had worked for timely solutions to problems which had been worrying them, such a case of violation of discipline could have been prevented beforehand.

People are liable to commit errors and reveal shortcomings because everyone has survivals of the old ideas. It is alien to our Party's policy to forsake those people who have obsolete ideas, who have committed errors. Our Party has consistently followed the policy of remoulding people who have obsolete ideas into new men through persevering educational work.

Communist society cannot be built by the strength of one or two extraordinary men. To build a society in which all the

working people can live a life of plenty, everyone should be brought into activity. We should continue to educate and remould all the working people so they may accept the cause of socialism and communism as their own and struggle voluntarily for it.

Under our social system today, anyone can become a communist new man. Under our system, one who follows the wrong path is an exception; the absolute majority are on the right track. So, help them a little, and they can all become fine Communists. Unless everyone is remoulded along the communist lines in this way, the complete victory of socialism cannot be achieved and communist society cannot be built.

In our country a mass movement for educating and remoulding people is now under way. Even young girls have turned out to educate and remould people, declaring with confidence that all people can be remoulded except the class enemies.

Thus, even the hopeless delinquents in our country are being remoulded. There is even a case of a merchant's wife who was remoulded and then reformed her husband who was in a rehabilitation house. She visited her husband once a week to educate him, with the result that the merchant became repentant of his evils and, at last, went so far as to tell his wife where he had buried gold rings and other articles of gold, which, he said, she should dig up and offer to the state.

When we see that even people who have committed serious crimes can all be remoulded in this way, it goes without saying that those who are a little unruly could be educated and remoulded.

As for the families of those who ran away to the south, the Party pursues the policy of accepting and educating and remoulding all of them except a handful of vicious elements. The Party has also sternly criticized the attitude of unwarrantedly suspecting the returned prisoners of war, and directs people to treat them warmly. Comrade Chin Ung Won, a smelter of the Kangson Steel Plant, is a returned prisoner of war. This comrade is none other than the man who initiated the Chollima

Workteam Movement. The Party actively backed lent initiative of Comrade Chin Ung Won. Toda Workteam Movement has risen and is spreadin over the whole country, vigorously impelling th struction of our people.

Educating and transforming people is an h devolving on writers and artists. Our writers and educate and remould the laggards in their ranks all into fine soldiers of our Party in the field of art. And all writers and artists should depict give a stronger impetus to—the great mass mo people who, united as one in mind and in spirit, and remoulding men. The more successfully thi cating and remoulding people is expedited, the our people will display in all fields of socialist c

The world people are now watching with struggle of our people as they build socialis speed, and they are anxious to know the secr ple's victory. Our writers and artists should d strate, through their works, where the source strength lies.

The reason that there is little progress in t erature and art is also attributable to defects in leadership. It seems that the Party's leadership i mass line is not well carried out in this domain.

While exercising control by administrative Ministry of Education and Culture neglects its among those engaged in literature and art. I h the Minister of Education and Culture person scenarios, but that is no way to settle matters. may sometimes examine scenarios, but that is a for the writers. The Ministry of Education and conduct adequate political work to enlist the dom of the writers and artists, instead of giving guidance, occupying itself with individual proble

It seems necessary to introduce some chan tem of guiding literature and art. It will do well

erate organization which covers all branches of literature and art, and for the Party to give direct guidance. It seems necessary to unite groups of writers, composers, dancers, etc., in the General Federation of Literature and Art as before, to make them work collectively under the leadership of the Party.

At present various branches do not receive mutual education and mutual criticism, and each is going its own way. Whatever branch of literature and art is working by itself will fail to see its own shortcomings. What is wrong can be detected only by others. A composer thinks his work the best, but when others listen to it, they can find shortcomings of which the composer is not aware, and can give good advice.

It is necessary to organize symposiums frequently. It will be good to invite workers, peasants and students, too, to the symposiums. Writers seem to hold such meetings rather often, but composers do not. The workers and peasants can make good suggestions about songs, too.

Literature and art can also be developed rapidly only by drawing on the strength of the masses. The strength of a few professionals alone will yield no results.

It is necessary to have many correspondents everywhere. Since the correspondents always live among the masses, they could write rather better works than the professional writers who are confined to their office rooms. There are many middle-school and college graduates working in factories. Give them a little help, and they, too, will be able to write works. The mistaken idea that professional writers alone are able to write scenarios should be cast aside.

The viewpoint that only the professionals can compose music is also wrong. Workers or peasants can all write music. Compositions by workers and peasants who have insufficient training in music, may have defects which conflict with musical standards. If such defects are corrected by the professionals, they will be all right.

As you all know, there are now dramatic sketches and other works created by local circles of amateur artists which are better than those produced in the capital. There are also

very excellent works among those produced by schoolteachers in the farming districts. It is because these works have been born of real life.

Many of the songs which the anti-Japanese guerrillas sang were produced by the guerrillas themselves. Of course, they were not artists; none had attended a conservatory. Many of them were working youths who had only the knowledge of a middle-school graduate at best; there were but few college graduates. The revolutionary songs which we are singing today are the natural and truthful representations of what they felt in their life and struggle.

All this testifies to the fact that there is nothing mysterious about writing scenarios or music, and that not only can workers and peasants take part in literary and artistic creation, but that, without their active participation, there could be no efflorescence of a really popular art.

We have many talented writers and artists. If all writers and artists make sincere efforts, upholding the Party's leadership, they will be able to rapidly develop our literature and art to fit in with our era.

The writers who have accumulated much experience in literary and artistic activities should personally stand in the vanguard and lead the young people forward. Of course, they should lend an open ear to the opinions of the young people, too. They should always hold lively, collective discussions and give active support to all constructive opinions.

The Party will do everything in its power to help you in your work. I sincerely hope you will bring about an epochal turn in the development of literature and art by waging a more energetic struggle to carry through the Party's policy on literature and art.

was difficult and that was mysterious. So, I had a talk with the workers. I told the workers: The June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee passed a resolution to expand the food-processing industry and the production of daily necessities; the people should be supplied with various tasty but cheap foodstuffs as well as good-looking and handy daily necessities in quantity; to do so, various types of machine should be turned out in larger quantities; and all factories and enterprises should also increase production of daily necessities; not a single machine should be allowed to stand idle; machines should be worked at a faster rate without letting them stand idle even for a moment, and more goods should be turned out. When they heard me, the workers said they felt qualms of conscience; they had so far been actually keeping many machines idle and inoperative, which was a very grave matter.

Factories under the First Bureau did not carry out the Party's decision on maximum utilization of equipment. Consequently, hundreds of machines were lying dormant, and thousands of additional machines which could have been turned out were not produced. They say that Factory No. 26, for instance, can turn out 2,500 looms, 500 boilers and 70-80 roving frames besides fulfilling its assignments for munitions production; sometime ago Factory No. 65 fulfilled its production plan for the current year; and the Huichon Machine-tool Factory has committed itself to manufacture 2,300 metal-cutting tools all by August 15. So far, however, those factories have not turned out more, although they could have, and have not endeavoured to work all their machines.

What stands in the way of exploring latent reserves and forging ahead apace? Nothing but passivism and conservatism. Passive elements and conservatives hold us back, both at the Ministry of Machine-building Industry and at the machine factories. This applies also to the electrical, metallurgical, cement, construction, and all other branches.

Comrades, what tremendous harm the anti-Party factionalist elements and conservatives have done to the field of construction! The rascals lurking there distorted and delib-

ly failed to carry out the construction policy of the Party forth at the January 1956 Conference of Builders. When the gave instructions to introduce assembly-line methods in nstruction, the anti-Party elements and conservatives did ery dirty trick, saying it was contrary to reason, and in- When they saw the Ministry of Light Industry in- assembly-line methods in construction, they said: May confounded buildings collapse with a crash! That's how the anti-Party elements and conservatives went to hinder progress of our revolution.

The Party fought resolutely against the anti-Party fac- elements and conservatives and endeavoured to carry its construction policy. When the rascals had been out, construction went ahead in a fine way. Since the ober 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Com- ttee, a great change has taken place in construction. There a great disparity between the building speed of 1956 and of 1957 and 1958. In Pyongyang, the builders have re- to erect dwellings for 20,000 families with the funds, ials and manpower intended for 7,000 flats.

We could undertake as many more construction projects we want now if only we had enough cement. But passive have made their nest in the field of cement, too, and blocking our way. So the Presidium of the Party Central has taken measures for eliminating this sluggish y in that branch and producing cement in large quanti- If we just overcome conservatism, 2 million tons will rtainly be turned out next year.

Also, when the Party gave instructions to complete the of the Hwanghae Iron Works by May Day this , the conservatives said: How can such big blast furnace coke oven be built by May Day? To ask for such a thing even knowing all about it! So, we told them: We claim particular knowledge and we are not technicians, either. one thing we know well. What is it? That is, the revolu- ry principle that when the working class resolves to come in response to the call of the Party, nothing is impossible;

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if the passive elements and conservatives are repelled and the activists are mobilized, it is possible to do anything and make rapid progress. What happened in the end? The position of the conservatives who were so outspoken in asserting the impossibility of the project was totally discredited and the Hwanghae Iron Works was completed before May Day.

In the production of ferro-coke, too, there were impediments from conservatism. Conservatives said: How could we do things which even advanced countries were unable to manage well? Should we do only what others do, and not what others cannot do? What is wrong with the Koreans doing something ahead of others?

When I visited Factory No. 65 recently, some people also said: This is a Soviet norm, and how can we do it? So I told them as follows: At present the Soviet economy is greatly advanced and the Soviet people are well-off, but our lives are difficult now, and we should advance faster than others to become well-off as soon as possible; why should we make it a point to stick to Soviet norms? What is wrong if we Koreans produce two while the Soviet people make one? Do not loiter unnecessarily in the shadow of Soviet norms, I said.

Nothing is impossible if we think boldly and set to work daringly, putting our faith in the might of the masses. We should smash the passivism and conservatism that stand in our way always insisting that even the advanced countries have not dared to do what we are doing, that nobody has ever tried to do it.

Conservatives do not move about with the words "passive element" or "conservative" inscribed on their foreheads. They pay lip service to "innovation" and "Chollima," but back down in practical acts and work. In the struggle against conservatism, therefore, it is necessary to learn to distinguish who is conservative and who is not.

In making continuous advance and uninterrupted innovation at this time, it is important to smash conservatism decisively. The entire Party should be mobilized to wage an energetic struggle against conservatism.

2. ON THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE WORK OF SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Now, it is an important question to further consolidate the socialist gains we have won.

Socialist transformation has been completed in our country. In towns and countryside, socialist economic forms constitute a system that holds undivided sway. This represents a great victory for the socialist revolution. But the consciousness of people is still very backward, even though the economic forms have all been transformed along socialist lines. Lots of individualism and selfishness remain in the minds of those who, until yesterday, lived under the capitalist economy. That is why the intensification of the work of socialist education poses itself as an important question.

What kind of ideas should be fostered today? It is necessary to foster collectivist ideas so that all help each other and unite in developing the socialist economy and devote themselves to common interests. The selfish ideas remaining among our peasants are the greatest obstacle to the consolidation of the victory of socialism. Nevertheless, the struggle against the selfish ideas is not waged energetically today.

Individualism and selfishness are manifested in the daily life of the peasants. In the state procurement of grain, too, some peasants do not sell rice to the state in good time, but store it up with an eye to selling it in the spring when the price rises. Such outmoded ideas on the part of the peasants should be rectified.

The complete victory of socialism can be assured only when the socialist economic system is further consolidated in towns and countryside and the consciousness of people is remoulded along socialist lines. Therefore, it becomes an important question to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois ideas

from the minds of people and arm them with socialist ideology. We should further consolidate our socialist system and accelerate socialist construction by cultivating among the working people a spirit of loyalty to the Party and the revolution, of devotedly fighting for the country and the people, and also by educating them in collectivist ideas which mean that everyone dedicates himself to the common interests, to the common welfare, instead of seeking personal gain.

3. ON THE TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS

We are going to carry out the technical revolution in the countryside, because we want to solve the questions of how to farm without crop failures, how to reap rich harvests, how to economize on labour, make work easy and increase profits. The solution to these questions is indispensable for the consolidation of the socialist system in our countryside and for the decisive improvement of the peasants' living conditions.

The keystone of the technical revolution in the countryside is the establishment of an irrigation system in all the cultivated areas except on steep slopes, reckoning with the natural and economic conditions of our country. If we establish an irrigation system in 600,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and 700,000 *chongbo* of dry fields in our country, it will mean the solution of the most fundamental problem of the technical revolution in the countryside.

Water should be channelled into fields with suitable conditions for conversion into rice paddies; dry-field irrigation should be introduced where there is lack of water, the area is wide or where conditions are not suitable for conversion into rice fields. Only when the area of paddies is expanded and the dry fields are irrigated in this way, can our countryside yield high and stable harvests every year and become affluent.

While establishing the irrigation system, we should promote mechanization of the countryside. It is urgent to mechanize transport operations. A tractor-and-lorry-hire station should be set up in each county. Elementary mechanization can be realized if we allocate an average of about 100 tractors and 60 lorries to each county, to begin with.

Electrification should also be brought to the countryside. This can be done easily because our country has the foundations of the power industry and plenty of power resources. At present, copper wire is in very short supply, but it is quite possible to solve this problem, too, if copper output is increased and aluminium wire and other substitutes are used in place of copper wire.

The cultural revolution should be carried out together with the technical revolution. With regard to the cultural revolution, some people think it is enough to sweep the courtyard and swat the flies. The main contents of the cultural revolution consist in raising the educational level and the cultural and technical levels of people. The central task of the cultural revolution today is to raise the knowledge of all people to the level of primary school graduates, and that of primary school graduates to the level of secondary school graduates—not only in towns, but also in the countryside. Only by uplifting the cultural and technical levels of all the working people can we firmly equip our national economy with new technology and run it well. This is the only way to turn our country into a civilized one.

The functionaries of the Party, the organs of power, the economic agencies and social organizations and the People's Army officers should all acquire knowledge above the level of secondary school graduates at least, and, further, the educational level of the entire people should be elevated. To this end, the work of adult education should be further improved.

At the same time, adequate preparations should be made for the introduction of the compulsory secondary education system. We are going to introduce compulsory secondary education for the first time in Asia. This is a great thing. The

compulsory secondary education system enables all youths to go through junior middle school.

And in the future, the youths who have finished junior middle school should all be enrolled in technical school. Technical school is an effective educational system which gives the new generation skills in a definite branch of work and gives them general knowledge and vocational skills simultaneously by combining theory with practice. Therefore, many technical schools in all branches, including industry and agriculture, should be set up in towns and villages.

While raising the people's level of knowledge, the amateur circle activities in physical culture, dance, music, etc., should be developed on a mass scale to enrich cultural life and foster optimism. In this respect, the democratic publicity hall should play an important role as the centre of cultural life in the countryside. But now these halls are not run well. When I went and saw some of them, they had nothing but a few chairs in the empty rooms.

Naturally, a democratic publicity hall should be arranged neatly and in a cultured way. It should have diagrams, wall-newspapers, pictorials, magazines, games, etc., which will interest people and have educational value. Only then will the people gather there of their own accord and see and learn even one more thing that is new. This is the only way to enable the democratic publicity hall to play its proper role in the cultural revolution.

The wisdom and power of many people of the *ri* should be extensively enlisted in cultural work in the countryside. Let me analyse the example of a certain *ri* of Changsong County. It has 120 houses, as many as 22 persons having the knowledge of secondary school graduates—11 teachers as well as the *ri* Party committee chairman, *ri* people's committee chairman, chairman and chief accountant of the co-operative, and workers at the forestry station, road office and stores. If the *ri* Party organization mobilizes them properly, it will be able to conduct effectively both the work of adult education and the work of the democratic publicity hall. If the 120 houses are allotted

among the 22 persons, each of them will be in charge of five or six houses. If each of them takes charge of five or six houses and exerts himself for some three years, the cultural standard of all the people in the *ri* will be raised and their consciousness remoulded considerably.

We asked the *ri* Party committee chairman if the *ri* Party committee had ever taken up this problem and given assignments to the functionaries in the *ri*, inasmuch as they were all his people and belonged to the same Party organization. When we went to the primary school, we also met the teachers and asked them if they had ever given assistance in the work of the democratic publicity hall or in adult education. They all said no. The *ri* Party organization had not organized this kind of work. Cultural work in the countryside can be conducted as successfully as can be if the *ri* Party organization does organizational work.

The schools should play an important role in the cultural revolution in the countryside. We fail to make good use of our student force now. Through the students, scientific knowledge can be disseminated among parents and socialist ideology can be instilled in them, and public sanitary work, too, can be conducted properly.

Schools and students should be the model in hygienic work. Nevertheless, when we visit a school, we still find pupils with long hair, grimy faces, and in clothes glossy with dirt. This should not be tolerated. If parents pay just a little attention, they can see that their children's clothes are washed on time When the pupils come to school in the morning, the teacher should see if they have washed their faces, trimmed their nails, and are wearing clean clothes, and should guide them properly. But he does not do so. Even worse, there are cases where the teacher himself goes about without shaving, in unironed clothes, and without sewing missing buttons back on. Some school mistresses go about with their hair unkempt and as disheveled as a thicket. As long as things are in such a state, culture cannot be developed and the cultural revolution cannot be carried out in our country.

Public sanitary work should be done effectively. At present it is done only superficially, but it should be conducted in a thoroughgoing manner.

Recently, I visited Changsong County and learned that the county people's committee had distributed lime and had the houses whitewashed all in one day. It is not a bad thing to do lime-plastering, but what they all did was only a face-lifting, they did not plaster the interior. To do it in a substantial way, they should have cleaned up the inside of the houses, papered the walls, and whitewashed both the interior and exterior with lime. It will not do to think that sweeping the courtyard is all there is to hygienic work.

At present the children's clothes are dirty. All the grown-ups have their Sunday best, but the children do not. So, we are going to find all pupils and students in uniforms next year.

Along with the construction of modern dwellings, the building of bathhouses, nurseries, laundries, etc., should be stepped up. We should lessen women's household chores so that they can go to work free of worries. To this end, it is essential to set up nurseries and laundries. I have seen the washing machine made at the Kanggye Machine-building Plant and it is excellent. It washes about 30 pieces of clothing at a time in just a few minutes. It will do if all the agricultural co-operatives have a washing machine of this type.

4. ON DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY EXTENSIVELY

According to my preliminary observations, our functionaries do not seem to have a profound knowledge of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. The June Plenary Meeting decided to extend the food-processing industry and the production of daily necessities in order to improve the people's livelihood rapidly. The state should

take measures and an all-people campaign should be launched simultaneously to implement this decision.

Measures to be taken by the state mean that the state-owned industrial enterprises should open by-product shops to increase the production of daily necessities and, besides, that factories for daily necessities should be built with state investments.

And the all-people campaign means that each district should enlist the local resources and set up small-scale factories on its own without big state investments, and turn out foodstuffs and other daily necessities in large quantities.

The task of the chairmen of the county Party and people's committees is to use their brains to tap all local resources and potentialities. At least, more than one local industry factory should be established in each county, as it is provided for in the Cabinet decision and included in the slogan for the August 15 Liberation anniversary this year. The decision is very clear. Yet, when I had talks with the leading county functionaries in North Pyongan and Chagang Provinces, they said they were still studying it. They are simply waiting for the time when the state or the province will make big machines for them, provide them with funds and send down production quotas. These are state measures, not a popular campaign.

You should use your heads and decide for yourselves what can be done, according to local conditions. You may set up cart-repair shops, paper mills, textile mills and what not. Some counties are hard pressed even for a cart shop. I have heard that there is no cart-repair shop in Popdong County of Kangwon Province, and so, when a cart breaks down, people carry it on their shoulders and go as far as Wonsan for repairs.

In Chonchon I looked into a mill making dry noodles out of maize, and it was really excellent. Such a mill can be set up any place. In a district that abounds in potatoes, a mill for potato noodles should be set up, and where vegetables are plentiful a vegetable-processing factory should be built. A small food-processing factory can be set up with just a room and a couple of big jars.

Many small and medium-scale textile mills, for instance, can be set up. I have inspected the mill for silk gauze in Anju, which is equipped entirely with treadle looms. One treadle loom turns out 40 metres a day, they say. So, if just one mill with 100 treadle looms is set up, that will be a great thing. The output of 100 looms will be 4,000 metres a day. Working an estimated 300 days, the annual output will be 1,200,000 metres.

It is also advisable to set up a paper mill to make white paper from tree bark. Daub the white paper all over with oil, and you will have excellent floor paper. If you do your work well, you can make sure that the peasants apply oil paper to the floors of all their rooms and live neat and in a cultured way.

Changsong County, for example, is rich in brush-wood. This can be used to bake earthenware and the ash can make highly potassic fertilizer. So it serves two ends. You can find as many such undertakings as you want to.

At present, the producers' co-operatives turn out all sorts of goods with no large investment. They produce goods worth 18,000 million *won*. You will do well to go and inspect the producers' co-operatives.

If only work is laid out, manpower can be found to do it. At least 200 to 300 families of workers and office employees live in each county seat. They represent idle local labour power that can be drawn into production at any time.

Technicians, too, can be found. In any county, the producers' co-operatives have quite a few handicraftsmen in them. Some functionaries are unwilling to employ such technicians because they were engaged in private dealings up until yesterday, but this is wrong. Until yesterday they were private technicians, but today they have become socialist working people. Such people should not be kept at arm's length but should be boldly drawn into technical work; then they will show still greater enthusiasm in their work.

To set up and operate more than one small or medium-size factory in each county is an important measure for ensuring the production of large quantities of processed foodstuffs and daily necessities by enlisting local resources without involving

an expenditure of state funds, and for improving the people's living conditions quickly. An extensive establishment of local factories has many good points. Good because the family incomes of the workers and office employees increase as all the women go out to work; good because the women receive political training and collectivist education; good because labour power can be increased without laying out more housing funds and state grain.

And another good point is that it will increase knowledge of enterprise management on the part of the leading county functionaries. A big shortcoming of many chairmen of county Party and people's committees is that they do not know how to manage a factory. They do not know how to make economic calculations. This proves a hindrance also to their guidance of agriculture. Economic calculation is necessary in agriculture, too, but as a consequence of the small attention paid to it, the struggle to lower the cost of farm produce is very limited. If factories are operated in every county, the economic knowledge of that county's leading functionaries can be enhanced and their guidance work improved.

Thus, it is necessary and preferable in all respects to set up local factories. Therefore, you should use your wits in your work in order to thoroughly carry out the decision of the June Plenary Meeting. You should not simply look to the higher bodies for help, but conduct this work on your own and in an all-people campaign.

5. *ON IMPROVING WORK METHOD IN THE CITY* AND COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

The principal defect in the work of the city and county people's committees is that they fail to take an overall view of things If they are pushed one step forward, they go one step forward, and if two, two steps forward; if they are pushed on

this side, the other side goes wrong, and if they are pushed on the other side, this side goes amiss. This is because they do not have a deep understanding of the Party's policies.

The principles and the basic orientation of the Party policy should be correctly grasped. Only then can one do one's work creatively in conformity with the actual conditions in his locality. It will not do to work so mechanically as to do just what is specified in a Party decision, and nothing more.

The Party policy sets forth the general direction for the whole country; it cannot specify for each locality one by one what to do and how to do it. That is why the functionaries should make a profound study of the Party policy and why they must show organizational ability and activity in order to carry it out efficiently.

A formalistic attitude towards the Party policy could be found in the work of the former leading functionaries of Ryanggang Province. When we named maize king of the dry field grains, people in Ryanggang Province also made a fuss planting extensive areas with maize. In Ryanggang Province, maize cannot be king. Not maize, but potatoes grow well there. In Ryanggang Province the king of the dry field grains is potatoes. And at the foot of Mt. Paekdu-san where rice does not grow, people had a really hard time of it turning the dry fields into paddies for the simple reason that instructions had been given to carry out irrigation works.

The people of Ryanggang Province had been fairly well-off before when they used to raise potatoes, but they had a hell of a time doing paddy farming. They had bitter experiences turning dry fields into paddies, and suffered hardships because rice did not grow, and then they had to go through the pain of turning the paddies back into dry fields again. Thus, they had a bad time of it for about three or four years, what with one thing and another.

What the county people's committees have done so far is to work without using their brains in pursuance with the Party policy, like a machine that operates only as manipulated, moving when manipulated from above and remaining stationary

when the strings are not pulled. So it is like playing with a marionette.

In organizing the work to carry out the decision of the June Plenary Meeting, too, it has been clearly revealed that local functionaries lack initiative. As I have found out, all of them sit and mark time, waiting for the decision of the provincial Party committee's plenary meeting. Each city and county Party committee and people's committee should have organized the work promptly in conformity with the actual conditions of their county on the basis of the policy laid down in the decision of the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Yet, the provincial Party committee is preparing for a plenary meeting, and the county Party committee, too, is preparing for a plenary meeting while still waiting for a signal from the province.

As for meetings, too, there is a lot of formalism. What is the use of holding unnecessary plenary meetings? There is no need for both the provincial and county Party committees to hold a plenary meeting just because the Party Central Committee has held a Plenary Meeting. A plenary meeting should be held where it is needed, the executive committee should meet if it is necessary, and a people's assembly should be called to session where it is required; any means available to carry out the decision will do.

Inasmuch as the North Pyongan Provincial Party Committee is going to convene a plenary meeting to hear a report on the execution of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting, I have asked the vice-chairmen of the Provincial Party Committee how the report will be prepared and what decisions are envisaged. They said that, as a matter of fact, there was nothing to add to what the Central Committee had already said, and that, rather, they ran the risk of leaving out something, if a new report was made. If that is the case, why take the trouble to make another report and adopt another resolution? It would be enough to convene a meeting of the executive committee of the Provincial Party Committee and organize the work in accordance with the policy worked out

by the Central Committee and then personally go down to the counties to take measures as to what kind of food-processing factory should be set up here and what kind of daily necessities factory there, and spur on the work. There is no need of making matters unnecessarily involved with provincial and county Party committee plenary meetings, reports and resolutions. Indeed, necessary meetings have to be convened, but there is no need to adhere to forms.

All these things tie up the functionaries, preventing them from displaying initiative in their work. They say that if they do not perform the formalities, the guidance group comes around and takes them to task. The guidance group, they say, grills them: Why don't you convene a plenary meeting, why don't you take up the matter; why are you neglecting the Party decision so much? This is wrong. The guidance group should not be exacting about the formalities, but about the content of work.

It is a big drawback that our functionaries lack initiative. So, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee has made it an important task to bring into play the initiative and activity of the leading workers of the counties and *ri*.

An important factor in boosting initiative lies in the profound understanding of the substance of the Party policy. You should not swallow the Party policy whole or take a formal attitude towards it, but should establish the spirit of making a deep study of it and carrying it out creatively according to the actual conditions.

On-the-spot guidance should also be strengthened. At present various meetings are held quite often in the capital, in the provinces and in the counties. This erroneous practice should be ended. An end should be put once and for all to the work style of calling meetings incessantly and sitting put in one place while imposing things on people down below. This question, too, was raised by the Party a long time ago, but it is not being carried into practice well.

The talks I have had with leading county functionaries reveal that they do not give proper on-the-spot guidance. They

say that if a county people's committee chairman goes down to a *ri* and stays there overnight and then returns, that is the longest time he spends on the spot. That will not do. When he goes down to a *ri*, he should stay there for at least two or three days, help the *ri* Party committee chairman or the *ri* people's committee chairman in his work, have talks with the Party activists, study how matters stand in the *ri* and take concrete measures to improve things. However, our functionaries do not give on-the-spot guidance in this way. When they go down to the *ri*, most of them make a subjective conclusion after attending a meeting for a couple of hours, without scrupulously examining the content of work. Or else, they meet the *ri* Party committee chairman or the *ri* people's committee chairman, get statistical figures and then return. Such being the case, the work of the *ri* people's committee or the *ri* Party committee cannot be expected to come off well.

The leading county functionaries should go down to the *ri* and stay there several days, during which time they should ask questions of the elders, have talks both with Party members and non-Party people, and, availing themselves of the opportunity, consult them about how to conduct cultural work, how to sell commodities, how to make preparations for farming and how to further raise the living standard of the peasants, and render them concrete assistance. It will not do to impose things on them, instead, by giving subjective orders of one kind or another. Only through direct contacts with the masses will you be able to find out everything clearly: Which part of the *ri* work is lagging, what the weak points are in the work of the *ri* people's committee chairman, how to rectify them, what the level of ideological consciousness and the character of the cadres and activists in the *ri* are, and how to mobilize the force of the nuclei and all the peasants effectively.

If the leading county functionaries do their work in this way for about a year, they will be able to have the actual conditions in the county at their fingertips. At present, as I have found in the course of talking with county people's committee chairmen, they do not know the state of affairs in their

counties; they can describe the situation only if they consult their memos. It is not that they have bad memories, but that they are not versed in the state of affairs in their counties. If they delve into the work of each *ri*, they will be able to get full information such as what is the area of dry fields and paddies in the *ri* and what is the production. They can tell the figures of every *ri* without looking at their memos.

The present chairmen of the *ri* Party and *ri* people's committees are mostly good people. If they mismanage their work, it is not because they are bad people, but because they do not know how to do it. So, you should perseveringly teach and help people, instead of firing them after things have gone wrong. In matters like holding a meeting, too, you should not merely give instructions to hold a meeting, but should guide them on how to make preparations for a meeting and conduct it and after the meeting, teach them one by one how to organize, inspect and review the execution of its decisions. As for teaching them, there is the method of giving short courses, but the best way is to show and guide them by demonstration on the spot. You should provide conditions and give scrupulous help to the chairmen of *ri* Party and *ri* people's committees so that they all may display initiative and activity. A spirit of always giving guidance in this way should be developed, whether it be the province guiding the county or the county guiding the *ri*.

I would like to emphasize once again that the city and county people's committees should smash conservatism, make continued innovations and uninterrupted advance, intensify socialist education among the peasants, promote the technical and cultural revolutions, use their wits to carry out the work of building local factories, improve the work method of the people's committees, and, besides, successfully carry out all the tasks ahead. While raising a few problems such as those mentioned here in general, I wish you great success in your future work.

REPORT AT THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

September 8, 1958

Dear comrades,

Ten years has elapsed since the Korean people proclaimed the founding of their independent state and newly emerged on the scene of history under the glorious banner of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Today, our people look back with great pride and joy on the glorious path of victories along which they have militantly traversed during the past decade.

Ten years is a very short span of time in the long history of our country. During this period, however, the people living in our epoch have done many things which our ancestors could not even dream of doing in many centuries; they have made really great achievements for their beloved country. The look of our country has changed beyond recognition, and a great transformation and leap forward have been made in the history and life of our people.

Today all our working people, with greater hope and confidence in the future of their prosperous country, are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic by a great political and labour upsurge.

On the occasion of this historic holiday, allow me, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the

Republic, to extend warm greetings to you and to the entire Korean people.

Comrades,

Our victory and glory have not come of themselves. Our country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is a great achievement of our people, made through a long and difficult struggle for the freedom and independence of the nation, and it has been consolidated and developed through one arduous trial after another.

Deprived of their territory and national independence, the Korean people were forced to lead the dismal life of colonial slaves under Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century.

Numerous Korean patriots, headed by the Communists, waged a long, bloody struggle solely for the liberation of the nation and the restoration of their country, never yielding to the brutal suppression of the Japanese imperialists.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has inherited the patriotic, revolutionary traditions of our people and embodied the unanimous desire of our nation for freedom and liberation of the country.

The liberation of our country from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule opened up to our people vast prospects of national independence and democratic development. Our people took part in the struggle for the creation of a new life with great patriotic zeal.

However, the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their aggressive policy created big obstacles to the struggle of the Korean people in the building of a democratic, sovereign and independent state and caused complication and difficulty to the Korean revolution. From the first days of liberation, our Party had to hew out the destiny of the country and the people under most complex and difficult circumstances.

In view of this situation prevailing in the country our Party embarked upon the path of building a powerful revolutionary democratic base in the northern half, which would guarantee complete independence for the country.

By channelling the heightened revolutionary enthusiasm of our liberated people, the Party established a people's power in north Korea, and in a short space of time carried out an agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms. As a result, a new, people's democratic system was established in north Korea, which began to develop as the base of the Korean revolution, as a mighty material force for the reunification of the country.

The U.S. imperialists who occupied south Korea were opposed from the start to the construction by the Korean people of a democratic independent state, while they pursued a colonial enslavement policy there. They suppressed all patriotic forces in south Korea, raked together landlords, comprador capitalists and traitors to the nation, and rigged up a reactionary puppet regime to perpetuate the division of our country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was born on the democratic base built in north Korea, amid the nation-wide struggle of the entire Korean people against the divisive manoeuvres on the part of the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, founded by the people themselves and serving the people, is the first genuine people's state in the history of our country. The workers, peasants and other working people of Korea, who had lived through age-old oppression, humiliation, darkness and suffering, are now guiding their own destiny as masters of their country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the banner of freedom and independence of the Korean people, and it is a powerful weapon in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country and the building of a new society. Thus, our country, which had been deprived of its own colour on the world map for a long time, entered the international arena under the new banner of the Democratic People's Republic and as a member of the great socialist camp.

In the course of its development over the past ten years, the state and social system of our Republic has demonstrated its indestructible vitality and superiority both in the flames of war

and in the peaceful construction which entailed many difficulties.

The three-year war forced upon us by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, the Syngman Rhee clique, was the severest trial for our people's democratic system and for the entire Korean people. The 16 imperialist countries of the world, headed by the United States, employed the most savage means of war in an attempt to obliterate the young Democratic People's Republic of Korea and our people's gains.

The Korean war was unparalleled for its cruelty, and it brought untold distress and suffering to our people. But the Korean people, undaunted, rose up in a body under the leadership of our Party in the heroic resistance to the armed aggressors.

With the active support of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other brother countries, our people and our People's Army, in co-operation with the Chinese People's Volunteers, repelled the enemy's armed invasion, and defended their Republic, safeguarding every inch of their motherland with their lives.

In the war the Korean people showed that no imperialist aggressor can conquer our people who have taken power into their own hands and enjoy the positive support of the socialist camp.

After defeating the U.S. imperialist armed aggressors who had boasted of being the "strongest" in the world, our people were more firmly convinced than ever that they could tide over any difficulty and win the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution.

The world imperialists headed by the United States still refuse to recognize our People's Republic. But they cannot deny the fact that they suffered a crushing defeat in their war against us, that they had to lay down their arms and sign the Armistice Agreement before the flag of our Republic.

Whether the enemies recognize it or not, whether they like it or not, our Republic still exists as a full-fledged independent state; it is prospering and developing daily, and stands firmly at the eastern outpost of peace and socialism.

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Comrades,

After liberation, our country took over a backward economy and culture left behind by the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. We had an acute shortage of national cadres, and we lacked experience in state administration and in economic construction.

As a result, our national construction was inevitably accompanied by many difficulties. The division of our country into the north and the south and the incessant subversive activities of the U.S. imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique against the northern half of the Republic made our state and economic construction still more difficult.

The great democratic reforms carried out after liberation, under the leadership of our Party, opened up broad prospects for the rapid rehabilitation and development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living standards in the northern half and created the social and economic conditions that allowed us to carry out the tasks in the period of gradual transition to socialism.

On the basis of the victorious democratic reforms, all the working people in our country, led by the working class, made considerable achievements in national and economic construction, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

However, our peaceful work was interrupted by the war forced upon us by the enemy. The three years of war played havoc with our national economy and greatly deteriorated the living conditions of our people. The war retarded the progress of our originally backward national economy for five or six years, and further deteriorated our already-low living standards

The most fundamental task before us in the postwar period was to rapidly restore the devastated economy, further develop

it and consolidate the economic foundations of the Republic and, at the same time, to quickly raise the deteriorated living standard of the people.

With a view to carrying out this task successfully, our Party laid down the basic line of postwar economic construction which was to give priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and mobilized the masses of working people for its fulfilment. This was the only correct way.

Needless to say, it was a very complicated and difficult task to carry out this line and fulfil the basic task of postwar economic restoration since there was total destruction and we were short of everything. But we had to do it. We could not drag out the restoration of our ruined national economy nor could we remain mere onlookers to the difficult living conditions of the people for long.

In working out its economic policy for solving this immense and arduous task, the Party relied, first of all, on the indomitable fighting spirit and inexhaustible creative energy of our working people who had rallied around the Party more closely and had been tempered and seasoned through the war; at the same time, the Party counted on the economic and technical aid of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal countries. It also took into account the fact that the key to the solution of all our problems lay in the priority restoration and development of those heavy industry branches which, though severely damaged, formerly had a certain foundation in our country.

Encouraged by the correct policy of our Party, the working people of our country overcame all hardships in the difficult conditions of the postwar days and fulfilled the Three-Year Plan successfully. Thus, in only three to four years following the war, industrial and agricultural production not only regained prewar levels but also exceeded them considerably. In this way we laid firm material foundations for developing the national economy on a higher level and for further improving the people's living conditions.

In 1957, in conformity with the basic line set forth by the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, we embarked upon the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan, the first of its kind in the history of our country. The transition to the Five-Year Plan in our country represents a new stage of socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic.

The Five-Year Plan is aimed at completely eliminating the backwardness of our national economy, turning our country into a self-supporting industrial-agricultural state and at sharply raising the material and cultural standards of our people.

When we set out to fulfil the Five-Year Plan, an important issue arose: to maintain the high development rate of the productive forces. This was necessary because of the prevailing situation in our country and also because of the backwardness of our economic development.

The progress of the Five-Year Plan has fully shown the correctness of the line laid down by the Party.

In the course of implementing the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, great changes have taken place in state and social life and in the labour efforts of the working people. All our working people who rose in response to the call of the Party, displayed great labour enthusiasm and inexhaustible creativity in all fields of socialist construction, thereby achieving great successes in the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

Our heroic working class topped the 1957 plan for industrial production by 17 per cent, and are also triumphantly overfulfilling the 1958 plan. In 1957, industrial output increased by 44 per cent compared with the preceding year, and in the first half of 1958, by 34 per cent as against the corresponding period of last year.

Last year, in spite of the severe drought, our peasants raised the biggest ever crop in the history of our country, exceeding the grain production plan by 12 per cent. This year, too, there was a long spell of drought, just as severe as last year's, but a far greater grain output than last year's is expected thanks to the great labour enthusiasm of the peasants.

Today our country is taking an enormous leap forward along the road to socialism. All factories and enterprises are launching a mass innovation movement to increase production and practise economy. In all fields of socialist construction the working people are setting up new records and working miracles. Our working people, who believe in the correctness of the Party policy, are rushing forward towards socialism in the spirit of Chollima riders.

We have now entered a period of great upsurge in socialist construction. Our people do not want to live in the old way nor do they want to lag behind. They want to wipe out all that is outdated and live in a new way. They are rushing ahead to emerge from the backwardness as soon as possible, and to live as well as other people.

The surging revolutionary spirit of the popular masses shows that we can fulfil the gigantic assignments of the Five-Year Plan far ahead of schedule.

Many enterprises have already resolved to fulfil the Five-Year Plan a year and a half ahead of the set time.

We are firmly convinced that the working people of our country will mark the 15th anniversary of the August 15 Liberation, our national holiday, with the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan by their heroic labour.

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct policies of the Party and the Government and to the devoted labour efforts of our working people, we have already achieved epoch-making successes in socialist construction.

Today, the might of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been further strengthened.

Industry, the leading sector of the national economy, has undergone a number of radical changes with respect to its technical equipment and its structure, and industrial production has attained a higher level.

During the postwar Three-Year Plan, our Party, while directing its main efforts to the restoration of the destroyed enterprises and production installations, paid careful attention

to carrying out a considerable amount of technological reconstruction and to creating a number of new industrial branches. This line of our Party ensured the rapid growth of industrial production, on the one hand, and enabled us, on the other, to decisively remedy the colonial lopsidedness and technological backwardness of our industry.

In the course of carrying out the Five-Year Plan, technological reconstruction is being conducted on a broader scale in all fields of industry; the foundations of our independent industry are being consolidated; and industrial production is increasing.

This year our industry will turn out 4.7 times the amount of manufactured goods it did ten years ago. When the damages caused by the war and the time spent for their recovery are taken into account, this high growth rate of industrial production has, in fact, been attained in the four to five years following the war.

We have rebuilt and expanded heavy industry bases and have also set up new light industry bases.

Such vital heavy industry sectors as the metal, machine-building, chemical, and building-materials industries, have been further expanded; and the fuel and power bases of our country, too, have been further consolidated. This year our country will produce 8,600 million kwh of electricity, more than 6.7 million tons of coal, over 500,000 tons of pig iron and granulated iron, 410,000 tons of steel, more than 450,000 tons of chemical fertilizer and 1.2 million tons of cement.

The machine-building industry, which was the most backward in our country, has developed at a very high rate. In 1957, the output value of the machine-building and metal-processing industries grew 29 times that in 1946. Before the war, we had to import almost all the machinery and equipment we needed. But now, we can produce for ourselves machine tools, electrical machines, mining machinery, building machines, farm machines, vessels, processing equipment for light industry, and various accessories, thereby promoting further the technological reconstruction of all branches of our national economy.

If our Party had not given priority to the development of heavy industry in the postwar period, how could we now ensure the new upsurge of industry and agriculture and the vast construction work in progress throughout the country? Only by preferentially developing heavy industry could we rapidly rehabilitate the damaged national economy, improve the people's living conditions in a short time, and lay our own material foundations for developing our national economy on a higher level.

In the development of light industry, too, we have made epochal achievements. The textile industry, newly set up in our country, will turn out 120 million metres of different fabrics this year. This is more than 13 times the output in the prewar year 1948.

Thanks to the material foundation of the fishing industry laid in the postwar years, we now catch 500,000 to 600,000 tons of fish annually.

Remarkable progress has also been made in the food-processing industry and in the production of daily necessities, both of which had been extremely backward. At present our Party and the entire people are unfolding a struggle to renovate these branches.

With the development of state-owned industry, state and co-operative trade has also made great advance.

One of the great successes we have achieved in industry and trade is the transformation of the private sector along socialist lines.

In the past, the development of our national capital was extremely restricted, because of the monopoly control of our national economy by the Japanese imperialists. As a result, private trade and industry, which had a very precarious economic foundation from the start, were further weakened by the ravages of war.

The Party and Government adhered to the line of transforming private trade and industry, step by step, along socialist lines, through the organization of production-and-marketing cooperatives. It has been completely in the interests of individual

tradesmen and manufacturers that they have been made to pool their small holdings to serve production and trade.

Following this policy of the Party, the entrepreneurs and tradesmen of our country started to transform themselves into socialist working people. Thus, today the socialist transformation of private trade and industry has already been completed in our country.

Agriculture of our country has also made great progress. North Korea was a zone which had been short of food before. Agriculture was so severely damaged by the war that the food question became all the more serious for us in the postwar days.

To solve the grain problem the Party and Government paid deep attention to the rehabilitation and development of agriculture. The state took important measures for the development of agriculture: it carried out irrigation projects on a large scale, supplied the countryside with more chemical fertilizers and farm machines, and widely introduced various advanced agro-techniques. As a result, the severely-damaged material and technical foundations of our agriculture have been further strengthened.

A decisive part in the development of agriculture was played by its co-operativization. Since the material foundations of agriculture had been severely damaged by the war and the peasant economy ruined, it would have been impossible to rehabilitate agriculture rapidly and develop the productive forces of agriculture, if scattered, individual farming had been maintained. The limitations of individual farming would have checked not only the development of agriculture but also greatly hindered the rapid advance of industry.

Socialist transformation of agriculture enabled us to solve the contradictions between socialist industry and the individual peasant economy.

The peasants enthusiastically supported our Party's agricultural co-operativization policy, and the agricultural co-operativization movement in our country made rapid progress. Thus, agricultural co-operativization has now been completed

in our country. Our agriculture has been turned from a scattered, individual peasant economy to a completely co-operativized socialist economy.

Agricultural co-operativization was one of the most complicated and difficult tasks of the socialist revolution. However, our Party, relying firmly on the Party's forces in the countryside and the surging revolutionary spirit of our peasants, fulfilled the complicated and difficult task very smoothly in only three to four years after the war. This is a brilliant victory of our Party's agricultural policy.

Agricultural co-operativization created essential prerequisites to the technical reconstruction of our agriculture, the transformation of peasants' consciousness along socialist lines and to the radical improvement of their living conditions.

Young as they are, our agricultural co-operatives have fully demonstrated their superiority and have been consolidated politically and economically.

With the co-operativization of agriculture and the consolidation of its material foundation, agricultural production has grown by leaps and bounds. Already in 1957, we harvested 3.2 million tons of grain, and thus essentially solved the difficult food problem. According to preliminary estimates, the gross grain harvest is expected to reach 3.6 million to 3.7 million tons this year. This means an increase of nearly one million tons compared with 1948, and an increase of 1.2 million to 1.3 million tons compared with 1944.

Along with the rapid growth of grain output, industrial crops, livestock breeding, silk culture, fruit farming and other branches of agriculture have also made speedy progress.

Thanks to the enormous achievements of the socialist economic construction, our people's living conditions have been markedly improved.

The national income in 1957 was twice that of 1949 and the real wages of workers and office employees increased more than 1.3 times in the same period.

The income of the peasants in kind and cash also showed a sharp increase. In 1957 as compared with 1956, the share of

grain per peasant household in agricultural co-operatives increased to 108 per cent, potatoes to 122 per cent, cash to 144 per cent, despite the fact that they set more than twice as much aside as in the latter year for accumulation and various other community funds.

Immediately after the armistice, the poor peasants whose living conditions were extremely bad accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the total peasant households in our countryside. But now the living standard of the peasants has, in general, been raised to that of the middle peasants. We are striving to raise the living standard of the peasants to that of well-to-do middle peasants in the near future.

During the period from the armistice to 1957, dwellings with over 16.3 million square metres of floor space were built in cities and farm villages. Thanks to the patriotic enthusiasm of builders all over the country, the vast housing construction plan for this year will also be overfulfilled considerably.

Pyongyang, the democratic capital, is now changing into a grand, modern city, and all other cities and farm villages, once reduced to ashes by the war, are rising with a new look.

How miserable our people's life was in the days of Japanese imperialist rule when we had no power of our own! How hard the life of our people was immediately after the armistice! All this, however, is a thing of the past now.

Today, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic, we can say with immense satisfaction that we have completely repaired the severe war damage to the people's living conditions.

In the bosom of the Republic the Korean people are successfully casting off a centuries-old backwardness in cultural life.

The shortage of national cadres and the backward cultural standards of the working people were one of the biggest difficulties that stood in the way of building our country and economy after liberation. In order to surmount this difficulty, the Party and Government made great efforts to develop educational and cultural work.

Universal compulsory primary education has been enforced in our country since 1956. Today more than 2,330,000 students and pupils are studying in our schools of all levels, including 22 institutes of higher learning and various specialized schools.

Thanks to the rapid development of higher and secondary technical education, more than 63,000 experts and technicians were trained in the ten years since the founding of the Republic, and have been assigned to all branches of the national economy.

Thus, we have our own cadres capable of competently administering the state and skilfully managing the enterprises equipped with modern technology in all spheres of the national economy. This is one of the greatest achievements we have made under the people's power and a precious asset for socialist construction.

The national culture of the Korean people, which was trampled underfoot and buried for a long time under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, is in full bloom today.

Comrades,

Because of the great socio-economic reforms in our country, the class relations of our society have undergone a fundamental change.

The ranks of the working class have grown and its leading role in all spheres of state and social life has been enhanced. Our heroic working class was tempered still more in the flames of a harsh war, and is making miraculous exploits on the labour front for our postwar socialist economic construction. With their inexhaustible creativity and vigorous fighting spirit, they are reforming our society and, through their Party and Government, are leading the entire people along the road towards socialism.

In our country the peasants account for 50 per cent of the entire population. With the completion of agricultural co-operativization in the postwar period, the source of exploitation and poverty has been liquidated once and for all in our countryside, and millions of peasants have changed from the small producers of yesterday into honourable agricultural co-operative members, into socialist working people.

Our peasants, who have found happiness on the road to socialism, are struggling to further consolidate and continuously develop the victories attained in the socialist transformation of agriculture, and are showing high patriotic enthusiasm in all fields of political, economic and cultural construction.

As a result, the worker-peasant alliance, the basis of the people's democratic system in our country, has been still more cemented on a new socialist basis.

Intellectuals are playing a great role in the socialist construction of our country. From the first days of liberation the Party has made consistent efforts further to expand the ranks of intellectuals by training a large number of new ones from among the working people and to improve their qualifications, while patiently reforming old intellectuals and actively enlisting them in the building of a new life One of our greatest achievements is that by transforming the old intellectuals and training new ones, we have formed our own army of intellectuals, who work firmly for the Party and the revolution.

There are no landlords or capitalists any longer in our country. Exploitation of man by man has disappeared forever in our society.

Unity and solidarity of the entire people based on the worker-peasant alliance have been strengthened as never before.

Comrades,

The victories won by the Korean people in all the political, economic and cultural fields are victories of our people's power and demonstrate the superiority and great vitality of our state and social system.

In the ten years since the founding of the Republic, we have registered tremendous successes in strengthening our people's power and consolidating our state and social system. The composition of central and local government bodies has been further improved through elections to the institutions of state power at all levels—held on a number of occasions. Some irrational administrative divisions have been reorganized and the state apparatus simplified. This has brought the people's government closer to the people, strengthening its bonds with them.

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In order to enhance the role and functions of local government organs, we have taken measures to gradually extend the authority of these institutions in keeping with our economic progress and the growth of our cadres. These measures have stimulated the activity and creativity of local government organs in economic and cultural construction and enabled the broad masses to participate actively in state and economic administration.

At the same time, we have made persistent efforts to strengthen the mass control over the work of state organs, to do away with bureaucracy and to establish a revolutionary mass viewpoint among the functionaries. As a result, there is being established among the functionaries of state organs a popular style of work which consists of going down more frequently to the work places and directly discussing the state affairs with the broad masses of the working people, correctly mobilizing their enthusiasm and creativity, and promptly fulfilling their requests.

Whenever we were confronted with a problem of great importance for the state or with a difficult task, we discussed measures for solving it with the broad masses. Our working people ensured the successful fulfilment of our tasks, surmounting all hardships by displaying inexhaustible creativity and unbending fighting spirit in response to the call of the Party. This precisely shows that our people's power is the most democratic form of government that enjoys the unqualified support and love of the entire people, rallies the broad popular masses around it and makes them actively participate in the state affairs.

Our task is to further improve the work of state organs, ensure the continued, active participation of the broad masses of the people in the state affairs and give ample scope to socialist democracy in our country.

Needless to say, without further strengthening our people's democratic state we cannot guarantee socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic.

All our state organs should continue to struggle for the

elimination of all outmoded methods of work, against bureaucracy and formalism.

In order to increase creativity and activity at lower levels, we must further improve the work of our local government organs, particularly of the county people's committees. In connection with the extension of the authority of local government organs and the rapid development of local industry, the role and functions of the local people's committees in economic and cultural construction should be enhanced even more. Local government organs and their functionaries should organize work in a creative manner and, going deeper among the masses, should stimulate their enthusiasm and creativity and promptly satisfy their demands.

(2)

A broad vista of development has opened up before the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people. Today our people, clearly envisaging the prospects of socialist construction in our country, are confidently marching towards their realization.

In our country, socialist relations of production have already won a complete victory in all fields of the national economy.

At the present stage of socialist construction, our most essential task is to further consolidate the material and productive foundations of socialism through the technological reconstruction of the national economy and to carry out the cultural revolution, on the basis of the already established socialist relations of production.

We can complete socialist construction in our country only if we carry out the tasks of technological reconstruction of the national economy and the cultural revolution which is closely linked with the former. We must carry out the socialist indus-

trialization of our country in order to equip all branches of the national economy with up-to-date techniques and consolidate the material and productive basis of socialism.

We must make a decisive advance in socialist industrialization in the coming six or seven years. For this, we must continue to develop industrial production at a high rate and reinforce its technological equipment. We must rebuild and expand existing enterprises, build more enterprises equipped with up-to-date technique and mechanize and automatize the processes of production.

Heavy industry is the foundation of socialist industrialization. We must continue to give priority to the development of the metal, machine-building, power, coal, chemical and building-materials industries and, on this basis, simultaneously ensure the development of light industry and agriculture. This is our Party's basic line of economic construction, the correctness of which has already been proved in practice in our country. We must invariably carry through this line in the future, too.

Electrification occupies a most important place in the technological reconstruction of the national economy. We should fully meet the demand of the national economy for electricity and step up the electrification of the country by giving priority to the power industry before other branches.

We should build large hydroelectric power stations on the big rivers like the Amnok-gang, Taedong-gang and Tokno-gang and, at the same time, build many small power stations on the middle and small rivers in different places.

The construction of hydroelectric power stations must be combined with the building of thermal power stations. Compared with hydroelectric power stations, thermal power stations require less time and funds for their construction, and also make it possible to utilize power in diverse ways and to supply electricity regularly even in the dry season. Therefore, we should build thermal power stations in Pyongyang and other major cities.

Rapid development of the metal industry is of particular importance in the socialist construction of our country. At

present, we need larger quantities of steel. In our country, the machine-building industry will develop further and larger-scale construction will be widely carried out in the future. This means that there will be a rapid increase in the demand of the national economy for steel.

Our country has a wealth of iron ore and also has definite foundations for the iron industry.

By further expanding the iron industry and greatly increasing the output of pig iron, granulated iron, steel and rolled steel, we must satisfy our own needs for all kinds and standards of rolled steel.

Since coking coal has not yet been found in our country, the important question for the development of ferrous metallurgy is the establishment of methods for producing iron by electricity or producing coke from lignite or anthracite. The scientists, technicians and workers in the iron and steel industry should solve this technical problem in a short period of time.

The development of the machine-building industry is of decisive significance in reinforcing the technical equipment of the national economy. More new machines, equipment and accessories are required in all fields of the national economy—heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, transport, capital construction, etc. Our national economy will not advance at all if we do not produce large quantities of machinery and equipment and develop technology. We can say that the development of the machine-building industry is the key to the solution of all problems.

We have laid a definite basis for the machine-building industry in the postwar period. But it still fails to satisfy the fast-growing requirements of the national economy. We must produce large quantities of diverse types of machines, equipment and spare parts which are in great demand in our country, by expanding existing machine-building plants, further raising the utilization of equipment and by building more plants.

It is of great significance to develop the chemical industry for completely satisfying the demands for chemical fertilizers

and raw materials for fibre. Our country is rich in electric power, anthracite, limestone, etc., which are essential for the development of the chemical industry. It also has a foundation for the chemical industry. Therefore, our country has ample prospects for the development of the chemical industry.

We must continue to develop this branch to produce in abundance different kinds of fertilizers, such as nitrogenous, phosphatic and potash fertilizers and, at the same time, fully meet the requirements of the textile industry for raw materials for fibre.

In light industry we should continue to enlarge the textile industry, rapidly develop the food-processing industry and increase the production of daily necessities. We should raise the per-capita output of textile goods to more than 30 metres in the coming four or five years.

As regards the production of mass consumer goods, we must develop local industry factories along with large-scale factories, and extensively utilize the handicraft technique together with modern techniques.

At its June Plenary Meeting, our Party adopted the decision to develop, through an all-people movement, the food-processing industry and increase the production of daily necessities and, to this end, put forth the task of setting up more than one local industry factory in each county.

Hundreds of new local industry factories have now begun to spring up in all parts of the country and have started producing goods, thanks to the activity of the local Party and government organs and the surging enthusiasm of the entire working people to implement the decision taken at the June Plenary Meeting. According to preliminary estimates, next year alone, it is expected that the new local industry factories will produce different kinds of consumer goods equivalent to the annual output value of all the enterprises under the Ministry of Light Industry.

Without big state investments, we will be turning out such an enormous amount of manufactured goods by mobilizing local raw material resources as well as unused labour and ma-

terials in the local areas. This is a new, ample reserve th has been tapped thanks to the correct policy of our Par and the increased enthusiasm of the working people who ha buckled down to carry it out, and it is of great significance the development of industry. This will not only make it po sible to fully meet the rapidly growing demands of the peop but it will also offer possibilities for a speedier development heavy industry and greatly accelerate the tempo of overall ec nomic development. When each city and county has its own i dustry, the role and functions of the local government organs the management of the economy will further enhance and e pand; the local functionaries and broad sections of the worki people will accumulate knowledge and experience in the ma agement of industry, and display still more zeal and creativi in socialist construction.

We will gradually expand and mechanize these hundre of local industry factories as their foundations become firm If we develop local industry in this way for three to four yea or five to six years, we will have hundreds or even a thousa and more of good light industry factories throughout the cou try, that is, four or five factories in each county, without ma ing a large single investment. We should actively and bold push ahead with the splendid work we have already initiate

Thus, by continuously developing heavy and light indu tries at a fast rate, we will have a self-supporting industr equipped with modern technology and a firm foundation whi will be able to ensure technological reconstruction in all branc es of the national economy.

Along with industry, transport should be developed furth and its technical equipment reinforced. Since our count abounds in power resources, we should work towards the ele trification of railways. During the First Five-Year Plan, v should electrify the railways which most urgently require and prepare material and technical foundations for the overa electrification of the railways in the future. During the secon five-year plan, we should push ahead with this work on a fu scale.

system of giving a special bonus when the production plan is overfulfilled.

Suppose that a 50-member workteam has been given the job of cultivating 50 *chongbo* of rice paddies and 50 *chongbo* of dry fields, and the state has a plan to turn out 4.5 tons of rice per *chongbo* of paddies and 2 tons of maize per *chongbo* of dry fields. Now, if the crew of this workteam displayed enthusiasm and creativity in work and produced 5.5 tons of rice and 3 tons of maize respectively per *chongbo*, thus surpassing by far the per *chongbo* yields planned by the state, their tax in kind and irrigation fees should be levied only on the crop yields planned beforehand, and the extra output of 50 tons of rice and 50 tons of maize should be divided among the workteam crew. This will enable the efficient workteams to receive more pay in proportion to the overfulfilment of their plans, in addition to the shares they get from the co-operative. This will give rise to an emulation campaign between the workteams for increased production, thereby increasing output.

I have long since been entertaining this idea, and instructed the Ministry of Agriculture to work out a regulation for it, but the Ministry still has not done so. It would be good to try it out in practice first before beating your brains out trying to draw up the regulation. It is advisable for you to take the initiative and work out a written regulation later on this basis.

Then, the co-operative chairman may possibly insist on stepping down from the chairmanship and joining a workteam. If, however, he fulfils his responsibility well and all workteams overfulfil their plans, the state can reward him for it.

Some people ask how the state will benefit by doing this. The state wants the peasants to be well-off. When the peasants become affluent, it immediately means that the nation is becoming rich. When the peasants become well-to-do and our country has an abundance of food grain, it will greatly benefit the state.

To proceed, one thing I should like to advise you is that you had better reduce the number of workteams somewhat.

You have 16 grain-growing teams, three vegetable-growing teams and two cotton-growing teams, which add up to 21 workteams, and if the stockbreeding, fish-breeding and mechanization teams, etc., are counted, the figure far exceeds 20. I think it is reasonable to reduce the number of workteams to somewhere around nine or ten and, instead, form more sub-workteams.

Of course, this needs further consideration, but, in my opinion, one workteam is enough for each village. If the chairman wanted to meet every one of the 20-odd workteam leaders and talk, just for an hour, with each of them, it would take him all 24 hours of the day. Then the chairman would not have any time to eat or to sleep. This is probably the reason why the chairman has earned himself the nickname of "motorcycle." "Motorcycle," it seems, implies that he is both busily on the run to deal with problems and is running about here and there to dodge his work. If he merely continues to run around like this, things will not go well. It is wrong, however, to leave the direction of the workteams to the vice-chairmen. This is tantamount to setting up another unnecessary echelon of leadership. The chairman himself should directly guide the workteam leaders.

It is not advisable for the chairman to summon the workteam leaders frequently, instead of going out himself, just because there are many workteams, thus keeping them away from the masses. It is also wrong for the co-operative's statistician to call in the workteam leaders in order to collect statistics. Now that the chairman has won the nickname of "motorcycle," it would be a good idea for the statistician to go to the work sites often to collect statistics so that he can earn the nickname of "bicycle" at least.

It seems to be the best policy to cut down the number of workteams, if it is very hard for you to give them direct guidance because of their excessive number.

As for pig breeding, this may be done by the grain-growing team rather than the stockbreeding team. If a bumper crop is harvested and an abundance of fodder is obtained this

year, it would be preferable for each workteam to raise its own pigs rather than do this collectively.

The stockbreeding team only has to raise sows, breed them, raise the piglets until they are weaned and then distribute them among the grain-growing teams. There is no need for separate grain-growing and stockbreeding teams. While weeding and harvesting, the grain-growing team may send some of its members out to cut grass on their way home, so that they can also raise pigs at home. Sixty-six persons are too many for the stockbreeding team. This is close to the number of workers on a small state agricultural or stockbreeding farm.

The fish-breeding team is not necessary. I think you do not have to set up a separate cotton-growing team, either. It will be enough to have a sub-workteam specializing in cotton growing within the grain-growing team. This will be both advantageous to the rational use of manpower and conducive to the introduction of a bonus system on a workteam basis. I do not exactly know the position of other counties, but it seems to be a good idea for Kangso County to try it out.

Now I would like to deal with compost production and the mechanization of agriculture in connection with this year's farming.

An important task confronting us now in farming is to produce compost and carry it out to the fields. Our country is not yet capable of turning out diverse chemical fertilizers in large quantities. Moreover, it is impossible to make the land fertile enough with chemical fertilizers alone. That is why compost which contains organic matter must be produced.

An important thing for the production of compost in quantity is to develop livestock breeding. If every household raises two pigs a year, they will obtain six tons of manure. According to some scholars, four tons of good fertilizer can be made by adding a small amount of limestone and apatite to one ton of pig manure, which is then mixed with soil and decomposed. If fertilizer is produced in this way, 24 tons of good organic fertilizer can be obtained from two pigs.

There is no bad land. If a lot of manure is applied, the land

will improve and per *chongbo* yields will also increase. The point is, therefore, to lay the foundation of livestock breeding quickly. If many pigs are raised and cows and rabbits are bred, making it possible to apply a large quantity of manure to the rice paddies and dry fields this year, we can have a large grain harvest and the problem of feed will also be solved. Animal husbandry, if it thrives, will give us meat and manure, will help to make the land fertile and, as a result, increase crop yields.

Fodder bases must be created to advance stockbreeding. It is very difficult to obtain feed in the mountains. Two-crop farming can be introduced in rice fields and fodder-crops can also be planted in cotton fields as early catch crops, in accordance with the line already laid down by the Party.

You should plant the rice paddies to wheat and barley as *early catch crops and reap them while they are still green,* prior to the rice-planting season, to use as feed. It was decided at the Plenary Meeting in June last year to introduce two-crop farming in order to develop animal husbandry, but the Ministry of Agriculture has failed to put it into effect. A decision, once adopted by the Party, must be carried out without fail.

Livestock breeding and crop farming are inseparable. Stockbreeding must be further developed in order not only to produce meat but also to obtain manure needed for farming.

I should like to say a few words once more about the mechanization of agriculture though I have stressed its necessity time and again.

Our peasants eked out a scanty living at the time of individual farming. We organized the co-operatives to create prosperity in the end. To become well-to-do we must produce a great deal. To produce a great deal, further growth of the *forces of production or the productive forces* is indispensable. This growth requires the mechanization of agriculture.

The mechanization of agriculture cannot be carried out in a day. It is good for you to do anything according to your possibilities. Even if you try to make such heavy [illegible]

tractors or combines today, you will never succeed. This kind of heavy machinery should be produced and supplied to the countryside by the state.

It is advisable that the provincially-owned farm-machine factory produce trailer implements to be coupled on to the tractors and lorries, animal-drawn weeders, planters, thrashers, etc. It is preferable for the county farm-machinery factory to produce simple animal-drawn machines and farm implements such as ploughs, shovels and long-handled spades.

And the co-operative had better direct its efforts mainly to repairing hand tools and simple farm machines. Of course, if possible, it may produce its own small farm implements like hoes and sickles. However, the farm implements needed by the co-operatives had better be produced and supplied to them by the county. At any rate, the co-operatives should place stress on repairing farm implements and making simple tools by reclaiming the materials at hand.

Promotion of mechanization at a faster rate calls for the production of a large amount of animal-drawn weeders and harvesters, oxcarts and other medium and small animal-drawn farm machines, in addition to large modern farm machines.

Besides, it is necessary to steadily improve farm implements. Improved ploughs should be made in large numbers. Even minor improvements in old-fashioned farm implements can bring about a marked increase in labour efficiency, let alone the introduction of animal-drawn machines. As you said in your speeches, good inter-row cultivation will save a lot of labour for weeding, dispensing you from onerous toil, and will also enable you to increase crop yields.

Without increasing labour productivity you cannot increase the harvest, and without earning a great deal you cannot improve your standard of living. According to my recent calculation, your average earnings are about 1,500 *won* each a year. The average sum that a worker earns for the state is something like 3,000-3,500 *won*. Even this is very small in comparison to the per-worker output value in the developed countries.

Last year you earned only half the sum made by our workers. You will be able to catch up with the workers only when you double last year's output value.

The Party slogan for the current year is that we should produce more by efficient utilization of the existing labour power and equipment. What is important in the countryside, too, is to earn more by raising labour productivity. To this end, it is necessary not only to handle production in a planned way and organize work rationally so as not to waste labour, but also to improve farm implements and speed up mechanization.

The co-operative will do well to allot as much funds as possible for the purchase of farm implements such as animal-drawn weeders, thrashers and ploughs; and hand-driven weeders, hoes, sickles and the like should be made available in sufficient numbers.

It was decided at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party to introduce mechanization first in South Pyongan Province. The state will give you preference in supplying tractors and lorries. Your task is to readjust the demarcation and grading of the fields well so that the tractors may be used effectively, and to raise their operation rate.

You must further increase the operation rate of lorries and oxcarts. You must not only produce manure but also take it out to the paddies and dry fields on time.

Now, I would like to dwell on the work of the management board. Many comrades criticized it. Of course, the board has many defects in its work.

The greatest defect is the lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of the management board members.

The Party and the state have entrusted the chairman and all the other cadres of the management board with the weighty task of stimulating the peasants to thorough implementation of our Party's policy. The state has placed the management board in charge of the co-operative property and many machinery and trusted it with all the responsibility of organizing production well and improving the people's living.

officer who does not know how to fight is called a "felt hat" by the soldiers. It is a far cry from being a school master to being a co-operative chairman.

To be a co-operative chairman, you should have a knowledge of soil science which tells you what kind of fertilizer is suitable for which agrotype and how to ameliorate a certain type of soil when it contains mainly such-and-such elements; you should have a basic knowledge of plant and animal growth and a knowledge of the efficiency of farm machines such as tractors and combines. You should also learn how to organize work and how to lead the masses.

No one is well-informed from the beginning. Everyone has to learn. You will become well-informed if you learn from each other. There is no hard and fast rule that only a farmer can become a co-operative chairman. Anyone can become one if he learns.

How do you learn? You should learn from the masses. Without going among the masses, you cannot learn. All of you present here are masters of farming. The chairman should open-mindedly learn farm work from the peasants, while passing on to them what he knows.

It was not because they knew about industry and technology from the first that the cadres who had been engaged in the revolutionary struggle in the past gave guidance in industry. None of them had any experience at running a factory. But we have run the factories and the nation's economy, learning from the start.

Just because cadres should learn from the masses, this does not mean that everyone may draw his own conclusions, which would lead to a state of anarchy. The conclusion should be drawn, after all, by the chairman. To do this correctly, he should be at home in farming and stockbreeding and should have the real state of affairs in his co-operative at his fingertips. To get to know the situation in his co-operative well, he should listen to the opinions of the peasants with willing ears and learn a great deal from them.

After the discussions the chairman should make a scru-

pulous analysis of which views are correct and which not, which views have won general approval and which views have been generally objected to, what good points the ayes have found and what faults the nays have detected. If all he does is to hold forth without listening carefully to other people's opinions, there is no need for discussion at all. Needless to say, decisions cannot be left to others. The chairman himself should make a decision on the basis of the Party's policies, after carefully weighing all the views expressed. This is the way to lead the masses while learning from them.

In order for the management board to do a good job, its members and the workteam leaders should actively help the chairman in his work. The chairman cannot and should not work all by himself. You should consult with and help each other. Things will get nowhere if they are done in such a way as all the responsibility for drawbacks falls on to the chairman and he, in turn, passes all the blame on to the workteam leaders. The chairman should have regard for his subordinates' opinions and guide them kindly in their work; and those below, for their part, should help and advise him so that he can do a good job. It is wrong for a chairman to snarl at his subordinates for no reason instead of feeling affection for them and convincing them of their faults. It is likewise wrong not to give the chairman ready help in his work, regarding him as a horrible man. Up to now the chairman here does not seem to have become such a horrible man. Of course, it is wrong to connive and compromise with each other's errors. Yet, it is also wrong to weaken the unity of people. The important thing is to achieve unity in the comradely spirit of mutual assistance and love

The *ri* Party committee is largely to blame for the poor showing made by the management board in its work. First of all, the chairman of the *ri* Party committee is as lifeless as frostbitten leaves, and as bewildered as a man who has just been saved from drowning. He acts in a spiritless way, though he has been given concrete instructions by the deputy director of the Organizational Department of the Party Central Commit-

tee and the Provincial Party Committee Chairman to deliver the report at the general meeting of the Party organization today.

The Party committee, if it is weak, can neither back up the work of the management board nor exercise control over it. If the management board fails to work well, the Party committee chairman should call a meeting where he should criticize the shortcomings and set the right course for its work. But the *ri* Party committee, trailing after the management board, is muddling about together.

Figuratively speaking, the county or *ri* people's committee chairman is the oarsman in front while the county or *ri* Party committee chairman is the steersman placed at the stern. What will happen to the work if the steersman dozes off at the stern, leaving the management board alone even when it fails to hold the right course and goes astray.

The chairman of the *ri* Party committee is not the only one to blame. Its members have also done a bad job. There is no reason why the Party organization as a whole should run aground because its chairman fails to do good work. If the Party committee members faithfully carry out their assignments and, when they find a mistake in the work of their chairman, severely criticize him at a committee meeting to correct his error in good time, the Party committee can do its work properly despite poor work on the part of the chairman. The original reason why the Party committee is organized and its members elected is that they should lead the Party organization by displaying collective wisdom, through mutual co-operation, because the chairman, working alone, may make mistakes.

A serious defect in your work is that the Party committee plays an inadequate role as an organ of collective leadership. Though you held a number of committee meetings every year, you dealt mainly with disciplinary matters and failed to discuss the work of the co-operative in a concrete way and give definite assignments to the committee members.

It seems necessary for the committee members to sit together and discuss matters at least once a week, so that the

Party committee may understand everything that takes place in the *ri* and give concrete guidance to the work of the management board.

You take meetings so seriously that you think it is indispensable to prepare reports and resolutions. You need not be so formal. The important thing is to get together promptly to discuss all matters and give proper assignments. Discussions should be held on practical matters such as what is needed for good farming this year, what is most important in making adequate preparations for farming, etc., and concrete tasks should be assigned to all committee members, specifying who is to take charge of helping to repair farm machinery, who is to help carry manure out to the fields, and so on. If you only hold discussions and do not give assignments, no one will feel any sense of responsibility.

You must carry out the assignments given by the committee. Party work is revolutionary work. You cannot become a revolutionary if you would not make revolution without being paid. It is wrong to approach Party work as something you will do only if you benefit from it and will not do if you gain nothing from it. To carry out the tasks assigned by the Party, you should work without resting even though others take rest when the day's work is over.

You should not just give assignments and then neglect to check up on their fulfilment. As for checking up, you should not think that some sort of inspection group has to be organized and sent out to do it. When you have assigned some kind of task to be done by a set time, you should find out how the committee members are carrying them out, and should give proper guidance if they are not done correctly. For example, when a committee member has been entrusted with the task of giving guidance to a comrade who has failed to observe organizational discipline strictly, you should ask the member how often he has talked personally with the comrade and how he has given him guidance; when you have assigned a committee member to the task of directing the blacksmith's work to finish repairing farm machines by a given date, you should

ask the member whether he has done it and, if not, you should see whether there are any bottlenecks, and the committee members should get together once again to discuss necessary measures. In this way the 13 members of the committee should sit together regularly to hold discussions, give assignments, check up on and sum up the fulfilment of these tasks in good time, and, on this basis, hold further discussions to give out new assignments. This alone will make it possible for all committee members to bring their wisdom into play and for the committee to fulfil its role.

The primary Party organizations should also work in the same way as the *ri* Party committee.

Just as we are now regularly taking part in general meetings of the primary Party organizations, before, when we were waging the guerrilla struggle, we used to participate in meetings of the company Party organizations. A guerrilla company was made up of 70 to 80 men, and yet it had no more than 6 or 7 Party members. When a company had instructions from higher up to get ready for a battle which was to take place in a week or about 10 days, the chairman of the company Party organization would call a Party meeting.

At the Party meeting all matters related to the preparations for battle were discussed and tasks assigned. The Party members were given detailed assignments—one comrade was to assume the responsibility for giving guidance to a certain guerrilla who lagged behind and became a burden whenever a battle took place; another comrade was to undertake the task of guiding and helping a certain recruit, cleaning his rifle and twisting strings for his knapsack; yet another comrade was to bear the responsibility for provisions, making parched-rice flour by such-and-such a method; and still another comrade was to take the responsibility for treating a sick comrade so that he would be able to take part in the battle to be fought by the company; the last comrade was to tell stories to the guerrillas from novels based on battles fought by the revolutionary armies and stories about the old-time generals who had fought courageously, organize discussions among the guer-

rillas based on these novels and stories about the guerrilla struggle of the revolutionary armies. Then, the Party members went without sleep to carry out these Party assignments, while all of them carried on their military duties—some standing guard and others going out on scouting missions.

The preparations for battle and for farming are both tasks set forth by the Party. So, there can be no difference in the method of discussing them at the general meeting of the primary Party organization. Every Party member should be given concrete assignments: when there is a man who is work-shy, a certain comrade should be given the assignment of educating him to work conscientiously; another comrade should be given the task of introducing the experiences of other workteams in the preparations for farming; and yet another comrade should be assigned the task of organizing a talk for the co-operative members to discuss the experiences in the preparations for farming carried in newspapers, and so on. All Party members should thus carry out the tasks assigned to them by the Party organization while doing their farm work in an exemplary way.

The Party is an organization. If you merely call on the Party members to play an exemplary role at a meeting, the Party organization will not rise to activity. It will only become active when organizational work is conducted in such a way as to give assignments to every Party member so as to rouse him to activity, and to take stock of the fulfilment of those assignments. The Party Rules states that the Party member should publicize the Party's policies and become a model in the struggle for their implementation. Concrete tasks should be assigned to Party members so that they can carry out the Party's policies If they all strive to implement the Party's policies, the Party organization will become a dynamic, living organization.

Another defect in your work is inadequate education of the Party members.

It is of paramount importance to raise the level of Party members' communist consciousness. You laid stress on communist consciousness in the course of your conversation with me yesterday. And your speeches at today's meeting have

shown me that many comrades have a low level of political consciousness.

I should like to briefly emphasize only a few points on communist education, since I have talked about it before.

One of the most important questions in communist education is to educate people in the spirit of love for work.

A man who does not like to work cannot be a Communist. A man who loves to live an idle life is a man imbued with the ideas of the exploiting classes. All precious things such as food, clothes and houses are products of man's labour. Without working we cannot even subsist, not to speak of building a good society. As a rule, a man must eat and use what he has earned by his own work. Those who seek to live on the earnings of others are, in the final analysis, people who would like to exploit others.

Why do we hate the landlords and capitalists? Because they live a life of idle ease without working, by exploiting what the workers and peasants have produced by the sweat of their brows. The Communists are opposed to such an idle set of people, and struggle to overthrow the social system where the exploiters rule the roost and to build a society where everyone works and everyone is well-off.

Some comrades think that in a communist society everybody will live idly because everyone will be well-off, but this is a completely wrong idea. True, in a communist society people will be prosperous in a way we can hardly imagine now, but even then there will be no one who eats the bread of idleness. That we will all come to enjoy a life of abundance in a communist society, does not mean that we will be able to live without working, but that when everyone works, the workday will be shorter and work will become easier and, furthermore, joyful, thanks to technological progress. To hasten the building of such a good society, we should work even harder now.

The woman workteam leader who spoke a little while ago was right when she said that we should work harder since we still have to reunify the country. As we are still backward

and have much work to do, we should work harder than others.

We should become a people who hate the ideas of the exploiting classes who despise labour and are averse to work, a people who think it a great shame not to work, who regard work as sacred and most honourable and enjoy work. Only such people can be said to possess a communist ideology.

Our people are industrious by nature. No end of fine examples can be found of our diligent and patriotic people's love for work.

Sometime ago when I went to the Sangyang Agricultural Co-operative with the provincial Party committee chairmen, I met an old woman there from the bereaved family of a person who had been killed by the enemy. She was a model farmer working on the co-operative. She said that the bereaved families of those killed by the enemy had to work harder than others. After returning, I told people about her.

Revolutionaries always emerge from among the fine working people who love work. The families of revolutionaries are ideologically more resolute, and the more ideologically staunch they are, the more they become unassuming and love work.

As I told you once, Grandma Ryom Bo Bae is now well over seventy. Her husband was killed by the enemy while helping the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army; her eldest son who took a direct part in the guerrilla struggle fought bravely and fell in battle; and her nephew was arrested and killed by the Japanese bandits on the charge of having acted as guide to our guerrilla unit on the way to Changpai County, Hyesan and other places on the Amnok-gang River when the unit moved from north to east Manchuria She herself helped us guerrillas with her whole heart, and during the past Fatherland Liberation War she cooked rice for our temporarily retreating People's Army men in spite of the danger posed by the enemy who was expected to move in at any moment. Indeed, the state should support such a grandmother well.

But she has never once asked for an old age pension or made any complaint. She brought up all her three remaining sons by herself and sent them into the People's Army. When

I went to Ryanggang Province in the spring of 1958, I met her and suggested that she quit work and retire. Her answer was that she would continue to work till the day she died.

What should we learn from this sort of people? We should learn their thinking. Theirs is precisely communist thinking.

Work is hard, and this is true for everyone. But if nobody works because it is hard, who would ever build socialism for us? It is impossible for a passer-by to make our country rich and strong.

We cannot give up revolution because it is difficult. When the men and officers of the People's Army defend blizzard-swept heights without sleep, it is not that it is an easy job. Though it is a very hard task, they do it for the sake of the people, the Party and the country.

When we were waging the guerrilla struggle, the Japanese rogues slandered us by calling us crazy people who were wandering about undergoing hardships for over ten years, uselessly taking along with us a large number of young people when there was no hope of achieving national independence. Indeed, when we did so we were not unaware that it would have been nice to have enjoyed a peaceful family life in a well-heated home. But we were thinking of restoring the country and saving the people at all costs. That was why it was not painful for us to undergo hardships.

Why had we had a hard time of it for nearly 40 years under the Japanese imperialist oppression? It was because our ancestors had failed to make our country rich and strong. If instead of building socialism through hard work now we hand down outdated things to posterity, our descendants will face hardships generation after generation. We have a lot of more work to do not only to enjoy a better life ourselves but also to bring happiness to our posterity.

Work not only brings us a new, bountiful life but makes us competent and staunch builders of socialism. Through work man can accumulate precious experiences in the transformation of nature, and develop his talents. While working we can be educated in the collectivist spirit of helping each other to

overcome difficulties, get rid of the survivals of the old thinking of the exploiting classes who hate to work, and we can arm ourselves with the ideas of the working people who love to work.

Another important aspect of communist education is to teach people the spirit of protecting state and common property.

You still have the bad habit of not taking good care of state and co-operative property as you do your own. As was revealed in your speeches, you never feel bad about how much your chickens might peck at the grain of the co-operative, considering it all right for them to eat their fill. This is proof that you do not care about the property of the co-operative after all.

The landlords and capitalists bled the workers and peasants white only for the sake of their own affluent life with no regard for others.

But our purpose is to make everyone equally well-off, not just a few individuals. Therefore, we own all paddy and dry fields in common and work them jointly and have all our property including cows, horses and farm machinery under common ownership. The common property of the co-operative is not the property of any individual, but is the property owned commonly by all the co-operative members. If every co-operative member cared only for his own property and handled the co-operative's property carelessly, and if he were not at all concerned about how the co-operative farm work is going, because he is not the only one to make a living from it, it is obvious that the co-operative's property could not increase and farming would not go well.

The man who does not care what will become of state and co-operative property as long as he himself is well-off, is, in the last analysis, a man ingrained with the selfish thinking of the exploiter classes. This selfish thinking is bad, quite contrary to communist ideology. As selfishness grows, it may make a man go so far as to betray the Party, the country and the people, not to speak of misappropriating state and co-opera-

tive property for his own interests, and, in the end, degrade into an enemy agent.

This selfish thinking has very deep roots, for it was nourished in the society of exploiting classes over thousands of years. We must continue to wage an ideological struggle against selfishness so as to build socialism and completely remould people's thinking along the lines of communist ideology.

Another important thing in educating the co-operative members in communist ideology is to repudiate conservative idea of clinging to outmoded things and actively cultivate in them the revolutionary idea of caring for new things.

We are now living in an era of revolution. We have cast off all kinds of outworn, rotten ways of life kept up for ages and are building the most progressive society of new type. Unless we cast away the old things boldly, we cannot create the new. Unless we abandon the old system, old ideas, old methods of work and old customs that stand in the way of our progress, we cannot build a new, socialist society.

At present, co-operatives have been formed all over the rural areas and agriculture is operated on socialist principles. We must boldly improve all farming and management methods to suit the advanced socialist co-operative economy, and quickly do away with old ideas and customs. We must fight ceaselessly to create the new against the old that hinder our onward march. The revolutionary spirit of striving for continued innovation and uninterrupted advance represents precisely the communist idea suited to our social system.

While intensifying communist education, we must endeavour to develop beautiful morals and manners among the people. Some people think that a Communist is a person who knows nothing but revolution, but they are greatly mistaken. The Communist has a higher morality and has a greater regard for the fine customs of his people than anyone else.

The Communist loves his parents, wife and children, loves his comrades, respects the aged, leads a simple life and is always modest in his behaviour. Disrespect and impertinence

towards the aged is an attitude totally incompatible with the moral traits of the Workers' Party member. Some comrades, instead of kindly looking after the families of soldiers and the bereaved families of those killed by the enemy, behave badly, going to the length of insulting the women of those families. This happens because they lack respect for the people and love for their comrades; it is an expression of the survivals of the old ideologies of the exploiter classes. This is a shameful behaviour contrary to our communist morality.

All such immoral deeds undermine the unity of our people and impede our advance. An uncompromising ideological struggle should be waged against such tendencies and the moral education of the masses should be further strengthened.

All ideological education must be carried on in combination with education in our Party's policies. They indicate the path to be followed by our Party and our people. Figuratively speaking, the Party's policies may be compared to a light that illumines a road at night. A person who is ignorant of the Party's policies is like a man travelling on a dark night; he cannot tell if there is a path ahead or not, which path is rough and which even, and so may possibly stumble or fall into a dangerous pit. If he carries a lantern or a flashlight with him, he can find the path and pick his way along a smooth shortcut without going astray into a rugged path.

Our Party's policies are clearly set out in the Party's documents: decisions of the Party Congresses, of the Party Central Committee and the Party Presidium.

Party policy study is obligatory to every Party member. Our Party's policies, based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in our country, define the path we must follow. The study of our Party's policies and Marxism-Leninism will enable you to fight on courageously without losing hope for a happy future and confidence in victory under any adversity.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, many people were quite hazy as to when the Japanese rogues would be defeated and Korea would achieve independence. People who failed to make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation could

not foresee the defeat of Japanese imperialism, nor could they have faith in victory.

But those who possessed a Marxist-Leninist understanding could see the doom of Japanese imperialism and our people's victory as clearly as if looking down from the top of a high hill. Those who lacked foresight and vacillated became depraved, while those who continued with the struggle looking ahead into the future with faith in the truth of Marxism-Leninism emerged victorious.

If everyone fully studies the essence and correctness of the Party's policies in relation to their own actual conditions, and goes on fighting along the path indicated by the Party, he will surely be victorious.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you that the Party members should further strengthen their unity. The Party members must consciously unite because they adhere to the same ideas of communism and struggle for the same goal. We should surmount a multitude of difficulties in order to build socialism and advance to communist society. Difficulties cannot be surmounted unless the Party members trust each other and are firmly united. The one million Party members must all unite, and in the *ri* Party organization, all the Party members must also have an identical mind and purpose.

When a shortcoming is revealed, it must be criticized and rectified on time and when there are differences among the Party members, you should overcome them promptly by waging a day-to-day struggle through education and persuasion, whether by calling a committee meeting to discuss them or by having individual talks. If shortcomings accumulate and differences grow bigger, they will become difficult to solve and it will be hard to ensure unity.

The *ri* Party committee and primary Party organizations should always strengthen criticism and self-criticism in the Party and thus rectify shortcomings in time and overcome differences, and should direct great efforts to ensuring the ideological unity of the Party members.

The Enlarged December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the

Party Central Committee set forth an important task of bringing about a fresh, greater upsurge in socialist construction. Now, more than ever, our co-operative members are confronted with the important task of turning out larger quantities of grain, meat and vegetables and raising the living standard of the people. Just as we brought about a great upsurge in socialist construction in the course of the all-people struggle to carry out the decision of the Plenary Meeting of December 1956, we must also achieve a great, new victory in the struggle for implementing the decision of the Enlarged December 1959 Plenary Meeting.

I believe that all of you, united more closely around the Party Central Committee, will carry out with honour the tasks set out for our peasants by the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting.

ON IMPROVING THE WORK METHODS OF THE COUNTY PARTY ORGANIZATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES

Speech Delivered at a Plenary Meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee

February 18, 1960

Authorized by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, I have participated in reviewing the work of the Party organization of Kangso County, South Pyongan Province.

I had already attended a general membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization, and also attended a general membership meeting of the primary Party organization of the Kangso County Party Committee some time ago. I also had a conference with those comrades who had been out giving guidance to the *ri* Party organizations. During this time, we have learned a lot about your work and, particularly after hearing your report and speeches at the plenary meeting of the county Party committee today, have become better acquainted with the work of the county Party organization.

According to what we have found so far, the Kangso County Party Committee has united the Party organizations and members under it firmly around the Party Central Committee, and is actively struggling to carry out the Party's lines and policies. All the working people in Kangso County are advancing with the vigour of Chollima riders and are achieving notable results in socialist construction.

Special mention should be made of the great deal of work you have done in rural construction.

Following the completion of socialist co-operativization in the countryside, our Party set forth the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization of the rural areas. The Kangso County Party organization has mobilized a lot of manpower for the Kiyang irrigation works undertaken by the state, and has carried out many irrigation projects including the construction of the Haksong reservoir and the Chamjin irrigation projects. Particularly after the September 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, big reservoirs and many pumping stations were constructed, which are sufficient to irrigate an area of over 5,300 *chongbo*. Thus, 60-70 per cent of the total cultivated area has now been brought under irrigation in Kangso County. This is a very great achievement.

In electrification, you have also achieved great success. All co-operatives in the county have electricity, so that thrashing, water-lifting, etc, are electrically performed, not to mention the use of electricity for lighting. Electrification has enabled every farm-house to have a wire-broadcast receiving set installed, and this is greatly conducive to the cultural revolution in the countryside.

In the struggle for farm mechanization Kangso County has also achieved considerable success. At present a farm-machine station has been set up in Kangso County, and it will have available approximately 150 tractors this year. You will be working about 82 per cent of the area under cultivation with modern farm machines this year. And a struggle is being waged for animal-driven mechanization where power-driven mechanization is infeasible, and this struggle has also yielded impressive results. Within the current year, outmoded conventional farm implements will be replaced by modern or animal-driven farm machines. It must be said that this is a great innovation in the work of farm mechanization.

In this way, the task of the rural technical revolution has been well in progress in Kangso County since the completion of agricultural co-operativization.

In farming, the per-unit-area yields indicate a steady increase annually. Animal husbandry has also developed considerably in comparison with the past. This is a result of the successful struggle which all the peasants in the county, upholding the Party policy, have waged to develop agriculture to a more advanced level.

You have achieved great successes in building local industry as well. Following the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, local industry has made rapid progress. In Kangso County there are now provincially-run factories such as a ceramic works, an integrated machine-building plant, a chemical works and a knitted-goods mill; also, nine county-owned factories including a foodstuff plant, a knitted-goods mill, a building-materials factory, an ironware factory and an honoured disabled veterans' factory for daily necessities. Such local industry factories turn out various daily necessities and thus greatly contribute to the people's well-being. Further, many housewives entered the factories and joined the ranks of the working class, and are developing into fine socialist builders.

As mentioned above, you have registered great successes in your work in the past, but you have also had quite a few shortcomings. You have many shortcomings particularly in the guidance of agriculture.

As I said at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization, much manpower and money have been dispersed on tasks of secondary importance, whereas in agriculture today, all energies should be concentrated on farm work including grain growing.

Moreover, both the operation of the co-operative economy and the guidance of work are unplanned. It is a well-known principle that the socialist economy can be operated only in a planned way. But owing to the unplanned, haphazard operation of the co-operative economy, much labour and money have been wasted.

Even more serious is the fact that the socialist principle of distribution has not been strictly observed. The work done

by the co-operative members has not been accurately assessed. Equal shares have been distributed to all regardless of whether work was performed or not, which has given rise to many loafers on the job. With idlers increasing, even those who used to work well have come to shirk their work, and quite a few persons have developed a desire to go where the job is easy and yet earns them many work-points. As a result, less manpower has been assigned to farm work which is toilsome and, consequently, plans for agricultural production have not been carried out properly.

Although per-*chongbo* yields have risen annually, many co-operatives and workteams have not weeded in time and not faithfully carried out the Party policy on giving priority to grain in allotting crop areas, which has resulted in a failure to produce more grain even though it could have been done.

Why have things come to this? Is it because our peasants did not have enough zeal? No, it is not. The principal reason is that the county Party committee has not properly directed the county people's committee which is responsible for the guidance of agriculture. The county people's committee has not carried out its work properly because the county Party committee has failed to give it correct guidance.

At present the county people's committee bears responsibility for directly organizing and guiding the life of the co-operatives. Previously the county people's committee guided the co-operatives and individual peasants through the *ri* people's committees. Last year, however, the co-operatives were amalgamated into one for each *ri* and the *ri* became a unit of production True, the *ri* people's committee as a form of power organ remains, but the chairman of the *ri* people's committee at the same time holds the post of chairman of the co-operative, and the *ri* has practically become a production unit. It is therefore wrong for the county people's committee to try to give guidance in production through the *ri* people's committees. Just as the *ri* people's committee did before, so should the county people's committee organize and guide production directly.

The county people's committee, however, has not directly guided the *ri* people's committees which are production units, but instead, conducted its work by sending down resolutions and written orders and urging them to submit statistics. This is an outmoded way of guidance ill-suited for the new, changed circumstances.

The county people's committee should not think that there is another intermediary echelon under it. You should know that at present the county is the terminal unit which is administratively responsible for production. The functionaries of the county people's committee should personally go down to co-operatives and help them draw up their farm production plans, guide them in technological matters, and give specific guidance from the standpoint of assuming responsibility for their production.

The county should directly answer for whether a co-operative thrives or not, or for whether the work of its management board goes well or badly. The county should hold itself responsible for the development of the productive forces at the co-operatives and for increase in the peasants' incomes. For this purpose, farm machinery should be replenished, and guidance should be given so as to improve the farm machinery and soil and to organize labour rationally. And the county should also give concrete guidance in making correct distribution to the peasants and boosting their incomes.

It was already suggested at an enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee in March last year that the people's committee should perform its work in conformity to the new, changed circumstances. Nevertheless, the county Party committees have not taken measures for strengthening the work of the county people's committees. So, this problem was taken up again and definite measures were taken at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee some time ago. If the issue had been ignored and had not been considered at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting, even more serious shortcomings might possibly have appeared.

A bureaucratic and formalistic style of work still persists in the guidance of the countryside because outmoded work methods have not been discarded. Plans which are someone's own brain child are imposed upon the peasants without the slightest regard for their interests. The field was planted to red beans, then it was ploughed up to plant maize on the pretext of turning it into a fodder field, and then once again it was ploughed up to plant vegetables, with the result that neither red beans nor maize nor cabbage was reaped. Moreover, how much manpower and seeds must have been wasted and how much pain it must have caused to the peasants because the field was ploughed up as many as three times.

All this labour, seed and material are funds of the co-operatives and common property of the co-operative members. And though they caused great losses and suffering to the peasants by doing this, the functionaries of the county or provincial people's committee have no regrets. This is a wrong attitude, feeling no sense of responsibility for whether the peasants are well-off or not.

What on earth have the bureaucrats gained from such haphazard guidance of the co-operatives? Waste of labour, waste of co-operative property, no crops—nothing. There is one thing, though, that the bureaucrats have earned at the expense of the people's interests. It is the fact that they were able to report to the Minister of Agriculture that the area planted to vegetables was brought up to the mark. In other words, they earned personal distinction for themselves.

At the Yaksu-*ri* Co-operative there were unpaid taxes in kind carried over from the time of individual farming, and at present nobody even knows the whereabouts of all the defaulters of the taxes in kind. Yet, the county demanded unreasonably that the co-operative pay the back taxes in kind. This is like demanding compensation for a lost donkey from the person who has come to pull out the pole the donkey was tied to, simply because the man who stole the animal cannot be found. It is all very well for the chairman of the provincial or county people's committee to collect all the arrears of taxes

in kind carried over from the past and receive a letter of thanks, but does he not have to think of the hardship it causes the people?

Bureaucrats do not care about people, law or democracy. To draw up a plan of agricultural production, wide democratic discussions must be held among the co-operative members, and the projected plan should be approved by the county people's committee and passed at a general meeting of the co-operative members or at a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization. Then, the plan becomes a lawful document. No individual can change the plan at will. The bureaucrats, however, change the agricultural production plan as they like and arbitrarily force the co-operative members to do what is not provided for in the plan, causing them great losses. This is a flagrant violation of democracy and a disorderly act running counter to the law.

They instruct the peasants to plant industrial crops, and then do not purchase them in time, and so sugar beets, for example, are used for cattle feed. Since olden times, the cattle of our country have not been fed on sugar beets. There is no need to plant sugar beets just to feed cattle. In that case, it is only the peasants who suffer the loss, after all.

The county people's committee has no right to take manpower away at will from the agricultural co-operatives to use it here and there. The county people's committee chairman, however, acts like a king who ignores the law. He is always mobilizing manpower at will for constructing a school, building roads, and what not.

Mobilization of the labour force must also be done according to a plan. For example, if the Chongsan-*ri* Agricultural Co-operative is supposed to send out 50 work hands to some other branch this year, then some compensating measures should be taken, either by taking this fact into account in mapping out the production plan, or by socially mobilizing an equivalent number of people to help with the farm work in place of the absent 50 persons. What will become of agriculture if you simply take away work hands at will while taking no respon-

sibility for production? You assign huge production quotas, and keep on taking away work hands. And how do you expect them to fulfil the plan? If you mobilize manpower, you should do so when farm work is off season, or else you should take some sort of measures to make up for the mobilized work hands.

We have not formed agricultural co-operatives for the county to do what it likes with them in this way. Unless a decision is made by a general meeting of the co-operative members or a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization, nobody is allowed to change the co-operative's plan.

The question of thoroughly eliminating bureaucracy was already raised long ago. As early as February 1952 when the war was on, we energetically propounded this question, and later, at the April 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, we again discussed this question. Since then we have continued to struggle against bureaucracy. And why does the county Party committee tolerate such bureaucracy? As long as bureaucracy is as excessive as this, you cannot say that the county people's committee is working as a genuine people's power.

A genuine people's power should, first of all, bear responsibility for the socialist economy. And why does the county people's committee fail to endeavour to increase the profits of the co-operatives, to raise the living standard of the peasants and enhance their ideological consciousness?

Individuals were responsible for the economy at the time of individual farming, but in the socialist co-operative economy the management board and the county people's committee should bear the principal responsibility. There is no need for the county people's committee if it is not going to work responsibly to augment agricultural production and raise the living standard of the peasants.

There must be definite improvements in the work of the management board, as well as in the work of the county people's committee. As I have already mentioned this at the gen-

eral membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization, I will not repeat myself. In improving the work of the management board, too, it is important to do away with bureaucracy, cast aside the habit of doing things haphazardly by rule of thumb and strengthen the collective leadership of the management board.

Working without a plan is a big fault of the county people's committee and the management board, it could be said. The county people's committee and the management board are working for the most part without a plan. If there is a plan, it is no more than one devised subjectively by a few persons. It is not a plan formulated on the basis of a correct calculation of the means of production and manpower, but one drawn up on the basis of a subjective desire of the county people's committee chairman or a few other persons.

In his speech a little while ago, the chairman of the county people's committee said that the county imposed upon the *ri* the plans forced upon it by the province, but it should not be forgotten that the county had also submitted subjectively prepared plan estimates to the province. Of course, there are second bureaucrats sitting at the province, who not only fail to verify carefully what has been submitted by the counties, but also make further additions to it according to their own subjective desire and then send it down to the counties. Working under plans drawn up in this way is in no way different from working without a plan at all.

Not only in agriculture, but also in local industry work is done without a plan. In constructing a factory, calculations should also be made, to begin with, of the amount of money needed, of the amount of materials and manpower required, and detailed plans should be formulated as to where and how to get the materials and manpower.

Nevertheless, you try to build a factory without such a plan and, consequently, a host of problems arise. When the county people's committee chairman says he wants to build a local industry factory, the bank may advance a loan of money. Now, what is to be done with money only, if materials are

not obtainable? Because materials are not available, the timber intended for making carts is all used up and the bricks supplied for the construction of another factory are diverted to it.

The country has a limited supply of materials and labour. If materials specified in the plan are diverted for another purpose, the result is that work cannot progress according to the plan. If you build houses with the timber intended for carts, it becomes impossible to make carts and, consequently, the transportation plan which has been drawn up in anticipation of the carts cannot be fulfilled either. As for manpower, too, you have no alternative but to take it away from the co-operatives, for you cannot go anywhere else to ask for it inasmuch as it is not included in the plan. Consequently, farming goes amiss. Since plans are all drawn up on a co-ordinated basis, if one target is not fulfilled, other work will be impeded to a great extent.

Thus, you have failed to make carts as instructed, making it impossible to settle the question of transportation, and you left the fields unattended, causing a great loss to grain production. This is what it cost to build a local industry factory. How, then, can it be said that you have done the right thing?

If you want to construct a local industry factory, you should plan it in advance. You should have an accurate plan and layout as to where manpower and materials will be obtained from on which site and on what scale and how it will be built.

Even when the state builds a factory, the State Construction Commission examines whether the factory site is suitable or not, if the plans as to materials, manpower and funds have been drawn up accurately, if the layout is correct, if work is done according to the layout, and so on.

In building a local industry factory, too, a careful investigation should be made, a detailed plan should be drawn up to build it well, and there should be inspection and control over the execution of the plan.

Under socialism, it is impossible to operate the economy without a plan. The county should naturally have plans for

everything, such as for agricultural production, for local industry and for capital construction.

Those plans should be worked out not according to any individual's subjective thinking, but on the basis of mass discussions. Agricultural production plans, for instance, should be drawn up through broad discussions at general meetings of the agricultural co-operative members; then they should be coordinated at the county level; finally they should be discussed and passed at the county Party committee and the county people's committee. And those plans which need the approval of the province should be submitted to the province, and those which are subject to approval by the centre should be submitted to the centre. A plan mapped out in this way is a law, and it should be obligatorily carried out.

And organs and functionaries at all levels should have work plans. Since you work without any plan, you call meetings even at night whenever you feel like it and make noises as if something serious has turned up.

The county should draw up its own work plans, and should communicate to the *ri* what concerns the *ri* functionaries in the plans. Everybody should know what he is supposed to do, and when. Only then will he be able to make advance preparations and have the time to think it over. If you wake up people from their sleep at night for a meeting, how can the meeting ever go right? Is there not an old saying that the year's plan should be formulated in the spring and the day's plan, in the morning? Furthermore, how can we, who are living in socialist society today, work without a plan?

The plan the county has at present is one that has been prepared for form's sake to show people who come down from above for inspection. What good is it? We should resolutely combat the tendency to work without a plan in this way.

Our Party entrusted the county people's committee with the task of responsibly guiding the national economy in the county. The county Party committee, therefore, should naturally help and control the county people's committee to guide agriculture responsibly.

The county Party committee, however, has failed to give the proper guidance needed to correct the bureaucratic work style of the county people's committee functionaries through strong criticism and to improve the work of the people's committee in conformity to the new circumstances. Although the Party should play the leading role in all work, the county Party committee has failed in the discharge of its guidance function. This, I think, is a great weakness in the South Pyongan Provincial Party organization.

Of course, there have also been notable achievements in the work of the county Party committee. That is, the county Party committee under the guidance of the Party centre has formed the ranks of the cadres with the nuclei of the Party. It is not because bad people are ensconced in the county Party committee or in the county people's committee, or because *ri* Party committee chairmen, co-operative chairmen, primary Party committee chairmen or workteam leaders are bad people, that various shortcomings are revealed at present. Their records, too, show that they are mostly comrades who have been faithful to the Party in the past and have long been fighting for the implementation of the Party policy. In other words, it can be said that the ranks of Party nuclei have been formed with good comrades. We saw this from the talks we had with cadres of the county Party committee for a few days, and also sensed the same thing in the course of attending a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization.

The county Party committee, however, has failed to work properly with the nuclei who have been united in this way. The departments of the county Party committee have not been roused to full activity, and the work with the county people's committee and with the social organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and trade unions has not been conducted in a proper manner.

Like the county people's committee, the county Party committee, too, has failed to reorganize its work in keeping with the new, changed circumstances

What are the new circumstances? The county Party com-

mittee's guidance is concerned primarily with rural Party organizations. And since the countryside has been entirely transformed on socialist lines, all peasants have become collectivized, socialist working people and all Party members in the rural areas have come to work in a collectivized, socialist agriculture. In other words, all peasants have become builders of socialism, and our Party members are now working among the peasants who are working and living in a socialist way.

Unlike the time of individual farming, everything is now being done collectively. Particularly, the peasants, like the workers, have for a long time participated in collective labour for the realization of irrigation and electrification, and thus have got tempered. And as the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization are successfully carried out, a great change is taking place in the labour and entire life of the peasants. The technical standard of the peasants has risen, and so has their level of consciousness.

The merger of the co-operatives with the *ri* as the unit has brought about a still greater change in the life of the peasantry. With the extension of the scope of the co-operative economy, the scale of co-operation of people in production has become greater and the economic life of the co-operative has become more complex.

The whole life of man changes primarily with the change in his working life. Since such a great change has taken place in the peasants' working life as compared with the time of individual farming, the consciousness of people has changed and so has their way of life. Accordingly, the methods of leading those people should also be changed.

What, then, is the change the new circumstances specifically call for in the work of our county Party committee? First, from the viewpoint of the Party organizational system, the county Party committee should become the terminal leading body under the present conditions where the *ri*, merged into a co-operative, has become a production unit, even though our Party's terminal leading body was at the sub-county or *ri* level before. After the Party centre, the provincial Party com-

mittee, and the county Party committee there is only the production unit.

The *ri* Party organization has the character of the primary Party organization at the production unit. Therefore, the county Party committee should not just send down decisions and directives to the *ri* Party committees and remain collecting statistics. Its functionaries should personally go down to the *ri* Party committees and organize work for them, and directly conduct educational work, too.

The county Party committee, asserting its own importance as a leading body, wants to create a large number of departments. That is wrong, however. Now it requests the establishment of industrial and agricultural departments, pleading that it is short of departments, and for some time has even been suggesting that a department for co-operative organizations be created. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee, however, has not approved it.

In my opinion, this seems unnecessary. It will do well for the organizational department to take care of all personnel affairs. If the agricultural department of the county Party committee deals with the rural cadres, the organizational department will have nothing to do. The county people's committee will take care of the work of directly organizing and operating the economy. What is the use of industrial and agricultural departments as long as they do not take upon themselves the job of the county people's committee? It is advisable to select and place three economic instructors at the county Party committee, one with economic knowledge enough to deal with finance and planning, another versed in industry and yet another familiar with agriculture, and let them work directly under the county Party committee chairman to assist him in technical and economic matters.

What is the important task of the county Party committee? It is to firmly build up the *ri* Party organizations at the production units, always educate the Party members in Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary traditions of the Party, and bring the Party policy home to the Party members, so

that the *ri* Party organizations and Party members zealously take part in socialist construction. Thus, it should see to it that all the Party members lead Party life in accordance with the Party Rules and faithfully carry out the tasks assigned to them in the struggle for the implementation of the Party policy.

You should not try to work only with the *ri* Party committee chairmen without stirring all the Party members to activity. The county Party and county people's committees summon only the *ri* Party committee chairmen, and even when their functionaries go down to a *ri*, they meet only with the *ri* Party committee chairman. Since they work exclusively with the *ri* Party committee chairmen in this way, they are unable to learn how matters stand with the Party members and the broad masses, and since the *ri* Party committee chairman deals only with his superiors, he has no time to attend to his own job. This will not help the work of the *ri* Party organization in the least.

For the county Party committee to aid in the work of the *ri* Party organization, the functionaries of all the departments of the county Party committee including the organizational and propaganda departments should all go down to the *ri*, and go among the masses together with the *ri* Party committee chairman, know about the work, organize it and educate the masses.

The chairman is the only full-time functionary of the *ri* Party committee. The most important revolutionary task in the countryside today is to assure good production at the cooperatives. Is it proper to leave this important revolutionary task simply t[illegible] time functionary? The whole county Party organization [illegible] onsib[illegible] this task.

The org[illegible] pro[illegible] rtment of the county Party co[illegible] no[illegible] summon th[illegible] workers of the [illegible] of the [illegible] aniza-[illegible]
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and meet the agitators and, together with them, organize reading sessions and give lectures for the masses.

Only by so doing will they be able to get a clear idea of the masses' level and effectively conduct educational work in a language intelligible to the masses. If they fail to do so and simply call up the *ri* Party committee chairmen or summon the agitators to give them instructions or short courses and send them back, things will always be done perfunctorily and the Party policy will not get to the masses. In guiding the local industry factories, too, the county Party committee instructors will do well to go down personally and conduct work just as in the case of guiding the *ri* Party organizations.

This alone will enable the county Party committee to know the cadres of the *ri* Party organizations well through work, educate them and have the core elements in hand.

At present the *ri* Party committees do not know well how matters stand with the workteams in their own *ri*, and the county Party committee is even more ignorant of the affairs at the *ri*.

The county Party committee should have full command of the cadres of the *ri*. Each instructor of the organizational department should take charge of a definite number of *ri* and guide them at all times. Suppose the organizational department has five instructors and the county has 20 *ri*, then each instructor should be responsible for the guidance of four *ri*. If the organizational department does not have enough instructors, it would be wise to enlist instructors from the propaganda department.

Suppose a *ri* has 15-20 cadres who are Party members, such as the *ri* Party committee chairman, the co-operative chairman, the primary Party committee chairmen and others, then their number for four *ri* is no more than 60-80. If the instructor meets three comrades every day to have talks and give education, he can give concrete guidance to all cadres of the *ri* once a month. Then, the county can understand the cadres of the *ri* as well as they do their own palms and take the *ri* affairs in hand correctly.

Each instructor of the propaganda department should also take charge of several *ri*, always meet the propaganda workers of the *ri* and know and educate them, and endeavour to steadily raise their political level.

If the county Party committee does its job in this manner for some 3-4 years, it will be well acquainted not only with the cadres but also with all Party members of the *ri*, and will be able to develop more nuclei from among them.

If the number of core Party members grows in every *ri* and they play a vanguard role among the masses, a great change will take place in the work of the *ri* Party organizations as a whole, and the masses as a whole will become active.

The keystone of Party work is work with the cadres. It is of prime importance to know and educate the cadres all the time and develop large numbers of nuclei.

At present, however, the county Party committee takes upon itself the administrative work that properly belongs to the county people's committee, and its organizational and propaganda departments play the role of a documents section whose function it is to compile statistics and prepare reports.

We should ensure the work of the county people's committee by bringing its Party members into action. How can the county Party committee, which has a much smaller staff than the county people's committee, take upon itself the work of the latter? As for compiling statistics, it is also good to compile only those which essentially belong to the Party's functions and to leave the others to the county people's committee.

essary, however. All that is required is to submit statistics on Party members once a year; matters that need to be reported regularly, too, primarily concern inner-Party affairs such as admission to and expulsion from the Party; and the rest will be cases when something especially serious has happened and you need to inform the upper body about it. There is no need to report in writing all such things as could just as well be communicated verbally or by telephone.

The useless paper work should be dropped. However hard one may try it is impossible to increase production with a pencil at a desk. The thing is to give concrete guidance to stir *the masses to action. Perfunctoriness should be renounced and* work should be done in a substantial manner.

To strengthen the work of the county Party committee, it is essential to give precedence to political work in every matter. Precedence for political work is always required in carrying out an important revolutionary task, be it the development of agriculture or of local industry.

Quite a few comrades take the precedence of politics merely to mean holding conferences or organizing lecture meetings when a task is raised. Indeed, holding conferences to discuss the task and organizing lecture meetings to explain the Party policy to the masses are all political work and important ways of giving priority to politics. But this alone is not enough.

To keep politics ahead of other things, it is necessary, first of all, to give the functionaries of the county Party committee and the county people's committee and the Party members on the farms and at the local industry factories a thorough understanding of the essence of the immediate revolutionary task set forth by our Party and the ways of carrying it out.

And the Party members should be induced to discuss in full more concrete methods of implementation of the task, go among the masses to explain the Party policy and bring it home to them, and widely discuss with the masses the concrete ways of fulfilling the task. On the basis of such discussions, detailed assignments should be given to each Party member.

In short, precedence of politics means bringing all the

its executive committee. All functionaries of the county Party committee should be brought into action.

Yet another important thing is the intensification of education in the Party policy to raise the cadres' level of guidance. To guide the masses, it is necessary to have an adequate knowledge of the Party policy so as to be able to tell them about what they do not know and always show them the right path to follow. And you should learn ways of coping with complex problems correctly in accordance with the Party policy when they appear.

Only when the instructors of the county Party committee go down to the *ri* and assist the *ri* Party committee chairman in his work, and have the ability to correctly solve the complex problems which the *ri* Party committee is unable to settle, will they be able to play the role of an instructor in the true sense of the word. At present, county Party committee instructors fail to give much help to the *ri* Party committee in its work.

The most important way of raising the level of the instructors is to acquaint them well with the intentions of the Party centre by exhaustively explaining to them, in the first place, the decisions and instructions of the Party Central Committee. The Party policy is always the guiding principle of our action and the criterion to tell right from wrong. If you know the Party policy well, you can tell what conforms to the Party policy and what does not in the course of guiding the work down at the *ri*, and show the right direction to the masses.

How can it be said that an instructor is qualified as such if he, who is supposed to have come down to give guidance, fails to answer when he is asked about the Party policy, and to give a clear-cut answer when he is asked to tell right from wrong when some kind of problem arises?

Since our revolution is developing every day, our thinking, too, makes progress and so does the Party policy. The Party centre studies the continuously developing realities of our country and frames new policies to suit them.

Our Party's policy is an application of Marxism-Leninism

to our country's realities. One can neither write, nor guide work without studying our Party's policies, no matter how many Marxist-Leninist books he may have read.

The instructors should study the Party policy systematically and know a new policy in good time whenever it is set forth by the Party. A good knowledge of the Party policy is essential to broadening one's mental vision, to finding the right way of looking at things, and carrying on one's work with conviction and daring.

The instructors of the Party Central Committee are on a higher level than the comrades at the county Party committees not because they have been chosen from among those who were county Party committee chairmen. Among them are comrades who were county Party committee chairmen before, but there are many who were not. The instructors of the Party Central Committee are on a higher level than the functionaries of the county Party committees because they are well aware of the intentions of the Party centre.

The Party centre sums up the experience of all the activ[illegible] ities of our Party, but the county Party committees have [illegible] ly the experience of work within the county limits. [illegible] is natural for the functionaries of the county Party [illegible] tees to have a broader view of things than the ri cadres [illegible] are in charge of the work of the ri, since the county [illegible] committees sum up the experience of work on the [illegible] But if we do not discuss and study the Party policy [illegible] we shall become ignorant of even the experience [illegible] ty level, to say nothing of the experience of the [illegible] the entire Party, and shall eventually find our [illegible] narrow to lead the cadres of the ri.

At present the Party centre pays [illegible] education of the instructors The Party [illegible] acquaints the instructors with the Party [illegible]

Before, persons such as Pak Chang [illegible] Party leadership used to tell only [illegible] foreign newspapers and magazines [illegible] policy known, and so education of the [illegible]

factory. Even in writing an article, they used difficult terms and marshalled many propositions of various kinds. To the uninitiated eye, such an article appears to be impressive, but, in fact, it is hollow and empty. It amounts to making noises merely with empty words without the least knowledge of the substance of Marxism, and is tantamount to licking only the rind of a watermelon without so much as tasting its meat to find out whether it is sweet or bitter. What good is it to play with words using difficult terms without knowing our Party's policy when all our work is associated with our revolution? Those who do not know Party policy and the substance of their own work, have no view to call their own, after all, and so they dogmatically copy from others, thereby prejudicing the work. In a word, they are persons who lack *Juche.*

What we call *Juche* means doing everything in accordance with the actual conditions of our country and creatively applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to suit our realities.

It is the duty of the Korean Communists to carry out the Korean revolution well in conformity to the actual conditions of our country, and that is our way of making a contribution to the world communist movement. Our task is to build socialism in our country and develop its politics, economy and culture for the welfare and prosperity of our people. And how can he who is ignorant of his society, his people, the history and the revolutionary and cultural traditions of his own country, carry out the revolution in a way congenial to his country? And how can he who slights his own things and only praises others' develop his own things?

Once some artists offered to throw away our national musical instruments, saying that they were uncivilized and undeveloped and that it was even impossible to use the musical notation for them. We severely criticized such a view. The Party's policy on literature and art was not carried out properly because a person such as Pak Chang Ok who praised only foreign things was entrenched in the Propaganda Department. Our national musical instruments perfectly suit the

sentiments of our people. So why should we discard them? And it is also untenable to assert that the national musical instruments of Korea cannot be fitted to musical notation. The trouble lies in the wrong ideological viewpoint of making light of our national art.

How can a person who is said to be engaged in the Korean revolution do his own thinking as master of his own revolution if he does not proceed from the actual realities of Korea, and belittles his own things and only copies from others? If one acquires the habit of only copying from others, he will eventually find himself totally devoid of his own thought and will also lose the ability of developing new ideas. Suppose a lazy pupil does not write a composition himself, but always has somebody else write one for him because he dislikes composition, the result will be that he will always be unable to write a composition. The same is true of our revolutionary work. As long as one relies on others and only copies from them without establishing *Juche* in his work, he can display no creative initiative.

Since the question of *Juche* was put forward, a change has taken place in the people's way of thinking. Everybody is now doing his work in accordance with the actual conditions he finds himself in, and so tremendous creative initiative which was formerly unimaginable is now displayed.

We should educate the cadres and members of the Party in such a way as to enable them to display creative initiative. They should have a good knowledge of the Party policy and be able to advance their work by thinking independently when carrying out their assigned tasks. A *ri* Party committee chairman should be able to carry on his job independently in accordance with the Party policy even when he is given no direct guidance and assistance from the county Party committee.

While sending down instructors to the *ri* to constantly help the *ri* Party committee chairmen in their work, the county Party committee chairman should meet the *ri* Party committee chairmen often to acquaint them with the Party policy and initiate them into methods of work.

Further, the responsible workers of the county Party committee should teach work methods well to the instructors. When they have the instructors write a report or a notice, they must also give them an orientation as to how it should be written. If they fail to write well, even after all that, they should kindly teach them by doing the writing themselves. Yet, a certain department chief is said to have rejected a paper written by an instructor as many as ten times without even touching it up once. If that is the case, the instructors cannot make progress.

The county Party committee chairman should make a good study of the commentaries on the Party policy carried in the *Rodong Sinmun, Kunroja, Tangsaenghwal*, etc., and should not keep its knowledge to himself, but should often call the instructors and acquaint them kindly with it before they go down to the *ri*.

The county Party committee chairmen themselves should make unremitting efforts to improve their qualifications. The county Party committee chairman must review his work and generalize his experience. Although the county Party committee chairman does a great deal of work, he fails to make rapid progress because he does not analyse it nor generalize his experience. He should generalize his own experience and publish it in the daily paper of the province or in the metropolitan newspapers; and as for the review reports, the chairman must write them himself on all accounts. The reports should reflect what he is thinking. He must personally write down the contents of the reports, though he may possibly leave the polishing of the wording to his subordinates. This is essential, for it will make him reflect profoundly on the work he has done; and his political and theoretical level will rise and his ability to write will grow because he is naturally obliged to study Party documents more deeply and also to read reference books if he is to write something.

As long as the county Party committee chairman or the county people's committee chairman does not personally prepare for important meetings, but leaves the preparation of

reports and resolutions to others, the meetings cannot be successful and the merits and shortcomings in work cannot be summed up properly. This is all a trite method of work practised by bureaucrats in the past.

In general, the work of theoretically analysing and synthesizing the tasks one has accomplished leaves much to be desired. That is why no lively theoretical debate has developed as to how to apply the Party policy to one's work. To raise the theoretical level of cadres and Party members, an atmosphere should be created of holding lively discussions on the Party policy in connection with their jobs. In the course of such discussions we will develop a profound theoretical knowledge of the Party policy and be able to rid our work of dogmatism. When we first launched the communist movement, we used to have very heated discussions. Through the discussions we firmly established our own views.

All the work we are now engaged in is revolutionary work. It is not an easy task to carry out the Party policy in accordance with the actual conditions of one's own locality. If we endeavour to make a profound study of the Party policy and do our work better, many questions will arise. We must always resolve these questions through discussions, and determine the correct line of action by enlisting collective wisdom.

At present you do not make good use of the newspapers. When we were fighting the Japanese imperialists before, newspapers were very hard to obtain When we got a newspaper in those days, we had repeated discussions on the editorial or the like and conducted education with it for a long time. Newspapers merely piled up on the desk will be of no help in our work.

To strengthen the work of the county Party committee, it is necessary to efficiently activate social organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and the trade unions. The Democratic Youth League and the trade unions are organizations which all assist our Party. Such working people's organizations play an important role in linking the Party with the masses.

The Democratic Youth League organizations play a great part especially in the countryside. There are many comrades among the Democratic Youth League members who have as strong revolutionary and class spirit as the Party members and are very loyal to our Party. These comrades are our nuclei. These activists should be energetically mobilized for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks. It is very good not only to impel the enthusiasm of youth for production, but also actively mobilize them to carry out the cultural revolution. It is necessary to encourage the activity of the Democratic Youth League organizations properly in elevating the technical and educational levels of youth and in intensifying their communist education.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the intensification of communist education of our Party members. I shall not recapitulate the content of communist education here because I have already spoken about it many times. We should endeavour to acquire not only Marxist-Leninist theory, but also the revolutionary spirit and moral qualities befitting a Communist.

Though a new, socialist society has been built in place of the old, class society, the thought of men who manage society has not yet been fully remoulded along communist lines. Socialism and communism can be built only through a conscious struggle of the working people. Survivals of the old ideology constitute a great obstacle to our progress. These survivals should be uprooted from the minds of people, and the people should all be armed with communist ideology. Failing this, we can neither consolidate the socialist gains we have already achieved nor can we move forward at a rapid pace.

As I have already remarked on many things at other meetings, I have confined myself to the few problems mentioned above. Although many successes have been achieved in your work, it is not yet conducted in conformity to the new circumstances. Therefore, the most important task confronting the Kangso County Party organization is to improve Party work radically in accordance with the spirit of the Enlarged Decem-

ber Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and strengthen the guidance of agriculture, thus bringing about a new, great advancement in the production of grain and other agricultural produce.

I wish you new, great success not only in inner-Party work and in the guidance of the people's committee, but also in the struggle for the development of our national economy following the present meeting.

ON THE LESSONS DRAWN FROM GUIDANCE TO THE WORK OF THE KANGSO COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEE

Speech at the Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
February 23, 1960

Some time ago, authorized by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, I went to Kangso County, South Pyongan Province, together with a number of comrades, where we acquainted ourselves with the work of the county Party organization and gave guidance in its work. This, I believe, is generally known, for the press has more than once reported it and carried editorials on it. The shortcomings revealed in the work of the Kangso County Party organization are not confined to that Party organization alone, but are common to all rural and factory Party organizations, and since their rectification is of very great importance for the whole Party, I would like to tell you today about the lessons learned from our guidance of the work of the Kangso County Party Committee.

We already had a general knowledge of the work of the South Pyongan Provincial Party Committee and county Party organizations in the province, for we had been to Onchon and visited other counties the previous autumn. So, this time we decided to delve a little deeper and get a thorough understanding of all aspects of the work of the county Party organization—from the primary Party organizations in the villages

and the *ri* Party committees up to the county Party committee. The comrades accompanying me—deputy directors of the Organizational and Propaganda Departments as well as section heads and instructors of the central Party—were divided into two groups. One group proceeded to study the work of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization in the county, and the other, the work of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee. While keeping in touch with both groups and aiding them in their work, I took part first in the guidance of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization.

At Chongsan-*ri* I talked with members of the *ri* Party committee, the chairmen of primary Party organizations as well as with other activists, and was informed of the situation there by the comrades of the guidance group who had gone there a few days earlier, thus having a preliminary understanding of the work of the *ri* Party organization. We discovered many shortcomings in its work and came to understand the cause for the poor showing in farm work last year. To probe deeper into the actual conditions, we visited the primary Party organizations of the workteams, accompanied by the *ri* Party committee members, and spent several days there talking with Party members and listening to the opinions of the masses.

After that, I went to the county Party committee and learned about its work from the comrades of the guidance group in charge of it, and had talks with the cadres of the county Party committee We gave lectures on the Party's policy to functionaries of the county Party committee and saw to it that the Party sub-unit meetings discussed it thoroughly before holding a general meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee.

Then, I came back to Chongsan-*ri*, where I had conversations with activists of a workteam, assigned the comrades of the guidance group to guide the Party sub-unit meetings and general meetings of the primary Party organizations and assist the *ri* Party organization in its arrangements for a general meeting. As for the substance of the report to be delivered at the

general meeting, we saw to it that the *ri* Party committee had a full and collective discussion about it and made it thoroughly known in advance to the primary Party organizations and all Party members. Consequently, all the Party members, already ideologically mobilized through the sub-unit meetings and the general meetings of the Party organizations, attended the *ri* Party general meeting with a clear understanding of what defects were to be pointed out and what tasks for remedying them would be set forth at the meeting, and everyone could express his views without reserve. The report to the general meeting was prepared personally by the *ri* Party committee chairman with the scrupulous help of the comrades of the guidance group and, as a result, it turned out to be an accurate and analytical report. Thus, the arrangements for the general meeting of the *ri* Party organization were made rather satisfactorily.

Until then, in many instances the general meetings of the Party organization in this *ri* were also arranged and conducted in a perfunctory manner. As often as not, tasks sent down by the centre by way of the provincial and county Party committees were mechanically imposed at the meetings. Meetings would be called without preparing the Party members ideologically, the *ri* Party committee chairman would deliver a report that was his own brain child, and a few people would make prepared speeches, which is then followed by passing resolutions through without let or hindrance. That was all. Nothing will come of meetings of this kind, no matter how often they are held.

It is necessary to hold substantive Party meetings in order to adopt concrete decisions consistent with local conditions on the basis of synthesizing the constructive suggestions of the Party members and to bring into play their conscious enthusiasm. Therefore, we began by teaching them clearly how to hold a really fruitful, and not a perfunctory, Party meeting. All meetings held in the *ri* and county during our guidance served as patterns of intensive, substantial, and well-arranged meetings.

Drawing on the experience gained in the course of our guidance of Chongsan-*ri*, we chose another six *ri* in the county,

which we continued to guide. We called a consultative meeting of the county Party organization with the participation of all comrades of the guidance group, the cadres of those *ri* and the officials of the county Party committee for the purpose of summing up the data obtained while guiding the work of the *ri* Party organizations. At this meeting we heard reports and exchanged views on the results of the guidance of Party work in Kosan-*ri*, Taesong-*ri* and Yaksu-*ri*. As a result, it was thoroughly revealed that as regards Party work and farming, other villages had exactly the same shortcomings as those found in Chongsan-*ri*. This confirmed the complete validity of the conclusion we had drawn after our guidance of the work of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization. Inasmuch as every *ri* showed common defects and its causes were similar, we could put forward the same corrective tasks and at the consultative meeting we could also outline the direction for the county Party committee to take in guiding the *ri* Party organizations.

Meanwhile, the general meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee was held successfully. Instructors and cadres of the county Party committee debated the work of the committee earnestly. Every instructor could criticize the department heads, vice-chairmen and chairman and boldly bring all defects to light. As a result, the meeting defined all the more clearly the concrete ways and means of improving the work of the county Party committee

On the basis of holding a general meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee and a consultative meeting of the county Party organization in this way, it was arranged that a plenary meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee be held. This was also attended by the chairmen of all county Party committees in South Pyongan Province.

The plenary meeting was to make a profound analysis of the shortcomings that had been revealed thus far in the work of the Party organizations in Kangso County, and gathering all the valuable views put forward by the Party members and masses at various meetings, take measures for a radical improvement of the Party's organizational and ideological work as well as of

class education. Our Party members can now clearly distinguish friend from foe, their consciousness of hating the enemy and defending their class interests has been enhanced. The spirit of waging uncompromising, principled struggles against any phenomenon contrary to their class interests is prevailing. A Party member living in Yaksu-*ri* was severely criticized at a Party meeting for having been treated to a dinner at the home of a rogue, a former member of the "peace maintenance corps," and thus become indebted to him, and another Party member was criticized by his comrades for manifesting bourgeois ideology when he rented a room to a visitor to the spa. All this helps to raise Party members' class consciousness.

The Party members and the masses of the people have also become highly vigilant against counterrevolutionaries. Fearing the watchful eyes of the people, those who seek to calumniate our Party and do harm to our system find it difficult to operate at present.

By and large, the revolutionary mass viewpoint has also been established among our Party members. Anyone who abuses the authority of the Party or infringes upon the interests of the masses is called to task severely for it. Party members are now deeply conscious that they can serve the revolution only when they become faithful servants of the masses because the revolution is for the good of the masses and it can be accomplished only by relying on the strength of the masses.

The zeal of the Party members to continue the revolutionary traditions of our Party is likewise high. Whenever they encounter difficulties, they recall how revolutionary forerunners fought against Japanese imperialism in the face of all difficulties and hardships, from which they derive strength and courage. Today every Party member constantly steels his Party spirit, taking as his model the ideas, style of work and moral traits of the anti-Japanese guerrillas who explored the path for the restoration of the fatherland at the cost of their blood.

The positions of Party nuclei have been built up to a considerable extent. The cadres at county and *ri* levels are very sound. In all Party organizations the core ranks are made up of

reliable comrades of good social origin, who have served the Party and the revolution from the time of the agrarian reform and who fought valiantly during the time of retreat, never yielding to the enemy.

Members of bereaved families of patriotic martyrs who remained faithful to the revolution till they died on the scaffold at the hands of the enemy; peasants who, camouflaging themselves, ploughed the fields by moonlight in their devoted endeavours to increase grain production during the war despite enemy bombings; ex-servicemen who, at the risk of their lives, fought for the fatherland in the battles to rout the aggressors —they are all fine people who can develop into nuclei of our Party. The core of Party organizations at all levels is made up of such comrades who are true to the Party and the revolution, and this constitutes our important asset and guarantee of victory. The anti-Party manoeuvrings of Ko Bong Gi and his ilk to give prominence to the "influential gentry," and to rely on them for work in the rural districts, have been totally crushed.

As you see, we have scored really great achievements in our Party work.

Then, why is it that a number of defects still find expression in our work? The unity of the Party has been strengthened, people have learned how to distinguish friend from foe, bureaucracy is much less in evidence than before, everyone is eager to inherit the revolutionary traditions, and ranks of cadres are composed of stable comrades. For all this, why does our Party work still fall short of the level required by the Party Central Committee?

There are two major reasons One is that educational work is still so poor that Party members have an insufficient understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party, and the other is that organizational work has been done unsatisfactorily with the result that each Party member cannot work actively.

Our Party members are now all eager to work, upholding the Party centre, but the fact is that they do not know how

to work and, therefore, fail in their work. Their enthusiasm and spirit are very high, but they are not acquainted with principles and methods, hence the clumsy outcome of their work. Our Party members and cadres can carry out the directives from above in a mechanical way, but they are unable to analyse things independently in accordance with the line laid down by the centre and to carry on their work to suit their specific conditions.

And the role played by each Party member is inadequate because Party assignments are not given in a scrupulous manner. A Party member, whoever he may be, must always fulfil his duties as required by the Party Rules. For this, the conscious efforts of Party members are most essential, but the proper assignment of work to them is also necessary. All Party members should be enlisted in Party work and each member roused to constant activity. The leading and guiding role of our Party can be assured as it should be only when all its members, without exception, play a vanguard role in the revolution and construction.

We have also achieved tremendous results in the economic sphere since the Third Party Congress. We have completed the co-operativization of agriculture and completely reorganized private trade and industry throughout the country; and built local industry extensively, thereby even drawing a large number of housewives into production. Now there is no one who exploits others, all have become socialist working people.

In a short space of time following the war, we completely rehabilitated the ruined national economy and laid the foundations for industrialization, and we are successfully carrying on the technical revolution in the countryside.

In Kangso County, for instance, irrigation has been completed in the main and electricity has reached every *ri*. Each home has a wire-broadcast receiving set and many have radios. Mechanization has made considerable progress. The county now has 45 tractors, and will have another 100 this year. This will ease the manpower shortage and lay a solid foundation for the speedy development of agriculture. In addition, the county has

built a base for stockbreeding which it did not have before, and gained a wealth of experience in applying advanced methods of intensive farming, including the cold-frame rice seedling method.

Till now we have also built many dwellings and attained great successes in carrying out the cultural revolution. Chongsan-*ri* village alone keeps two schools, and junior middle school education has been made compulsory there. A number of local-industry factories have also been built, with the result that the county which previously had only two factories runs ten at present, turning out a variety of goods.

We have thus made great progress in the economic field in a brief span of time. Yet the economic work, too, is far below the level required by the Party Central Committee. Why? The reason here, too, is that functionaries suffer from a low level of preparedness, not because they are bad people. They are very eager to work, but owing to their lack of a correct understanding of the Party's economic policy and of knowledge of how to manage a planned economy, they only disperse their work, failing to grasp the main link, and achieve little success though they keep themselves busy.

In the final analysis, Party work does not go well because our Party members lack proper knowledge of Marxist-Leninist principles and of work methods, and economic work is not carried on successfully because our functionaries know little of the economy and technology The basic cause is the same, I should say.

Considering that the Party's organizational and political lines are all correct, its economic policy is likewise correct and the people, upholding the Party's lines, are all working hard to carry out its policy, the only trouble is the low level of our functionaries. The cadres' knowledge and ability are too poor to cope with the tasks facing them. Is this an accident? No. It is an inevitable outcome of the unusually rapid rate of our economic development

Our national economy has a very high rate of progress. What we have accomplished in economic construction in the

six years after the war could hardly be achieved even in scores of years under the capitalist system. We have advanced in a spirit of taking ten steps while others take one.

Our economy has developed in this way, but we can hardly expect people's knowledge and capacities to improve as rapidly. A large number of specialists and technicians with higher learning are required if we are to run successfully such modern industry and large-scale co-operative farming as we have today, but we are in great need of such personnel. And it takes four or five years to complete the college course. Industrial output can soar 40 odd per cent a year, but it is almost impossible for a man to learn in one year what needs five years to learn. We shall be content only when all cadres acquire the knowledge equivalent to a college graduate, but unlike other things, this is something that can hardly be attained in a year or two.

Of course, it is true that our Party, since immediately after liberation, has devoted much effort to overcoming the shortage of technical personnel and even during the war, it did not leave off the training of cadres for a moment, and has already trained a great many. And last year, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee decided to set up many more colleges and took appropriate measures. That was a timely step, we can say. But not yet enough, we are now studying the question of setting up technical colleges in large factories and on large farms to enable the workers to study while working.

However, these measures alone are insufficient to solve the problem. We cannot remain idle for four or five years, waiting for specialists and technicians to issue forth. Then what is to be done? What should we do to cope with the situation at a time when the level of knowledge of our functionaries fails to catch up with the comparatively high level of our economy, when there are still many who have just rid themselves of illiteracy? The basic solution, of course, would be to promote the cultural revolution vigorously, but at this moment, how are we to overcome this bottleneck which constitutes the root cause of all shortcomings in our work? The reorganization of our sys-

tem of work and the improvement of our guidance methods are the only way out, I think.

It will be many years before every cadre at the *ri* level has attained the standard of a specialized school graduate, and every cadre at the county level that of a college graduate. Therefore, we must break through the immediate bottleneck by establishing an appropriate work system whereby the centre helps the province, the province helps the county, and the county helps the *ri*. In particular, it is necessary radically to improve the method of the county's guidance to the *ri*.

Owing to our changed circumstances, it has become an ever more urgent demand to improve the system of work and the methods of guidance. In the rural *ri*, entirely new circumstances have been created now, while the cadres there lack experience and ability. As a result of the completion of co-operativization and the establishment of the socialist system in the countryside, everyone now works together on the co-operatives, whereas in the past all the peasants, including Party members, lived within the bounds of the private economy. This has given rise to the need for a change in the peasants' ideological consciousness, the need for guidance of the co-operative economy by cadres fully armed with communist consciousness.

At present, most of the cadres of each *ri* are people who have been selected from among the local peasants. They are all good comrades, but they are still too immature politically, ideologically and practically to educate the peasants in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty morality of collectivism and to build up the large-scale socialist economy successfully Therefore, in my opinion, there is no other way than for the cadres at a higher level, the county cadres, personally to visit the *ri* and educate the peasants, organize and mobilize them for the implementation of the Party's policy, and aid in the work of the *ri*.

The material and technical foundations of agriculture have also been considerably strengthened. Formerly, only hoes and sickles were used, but today pumps are operating everywhere and tractors are working the rice paddies and dry fields. This

demands the high cultural and technical levels of the peasants, and requires technicians to undertake technical guidance at agricultural co-operatives. With the promotion of the technical revolution in the countryside, this demand will become still more pressing. But our agricultural co-operatives have few technicians. Therefore, the technicians at the county should personally go down to the co-operatives, help the peasants raise their technical level and assist them in farming. There is no other alternative.

As a result of the merging of co-operatives, the *ri* has become a big unit of agricultural production and the work of the *ri* has become complex and diversified. In the past, each household possessing one or two *chongbo* of land constituted a farming unit, but now the farming unit is the agricultural co-operative of each *ri* embracing an average of 500 *chongbo* or more of land and over 300 peasant households. Formerly, each peasant managed his own husbandry, but now we cannot go a step forward unless the *ri* directly manages and operates this large-scale economy in a planned way. The co-operative economy can fully display its advantages only when we carry out such planned management well. But our *ri* cadres are quite at a loss what to do with a mountain of work at hand, because they have little experience in the management of a planned economy and lack a knowledge of economics and have a low level of preparedness.

There is now tremendous work to be done in the *ri*. It is very complex—producing much grain, growing industrial crops, raising livestock, breeding fresh-water fish, conducting trade, carrying out the technical and the cultural revolution and so on and so forth.

How can we expect success, if all this is left only to the chairman of the *ri* people's committee or to a few members of the management board of the co-operative? These days, matters are such that no one goes to the *ri* personally to organize, teach and aid in its work, but all visit there with brief cases under their arms, each of whom only demands or directs, "Have you applied much compost?" "How have you built pigsties?"

"Why don't you do fish breeding?" "Why doesn't the procurement work go smoothly?" "How is housing construction going on?" "How about health and hygienic work?" "Build the school quickly!" "Run art circles!" and so on and so forth. Many "dignitaries" such as management bureau directors, section chiefs, and chairmen flock to the *ri*, each acting as a taskmaster and only harassing the *ri* people's committee chairman. How can he alone deal with all this?

Guidance methods should be corrected decisively. Though new circumstances have been created, the work system has not yet been reorganized to suit them. How then should we reorganize the system of work and improve the methods of guidance?

First of all, the work system of the county people's committees should be reorganized. The question cannot be solved as long as the county people's committee "guides" the *ri* only by frequently sending down official dispatches, only by issuing directives to do this and that and demanding statistics of all kinds. Any number of official dispatches and directives may be sent down to the *ri* to accumulate, but what is the use of them if the *ri* lacks the capacity to organize their fulfilment? Yet, we cannot bring forward the question of abolishing the county people's committees and allocating all their functionaries to the *ri* to strengthen its work force. It is almost impossible for every province directly to guide and control some 300 *ri* without the media of the counties. Therefore, the only way out is for the personnel of the county people's committee to go to the *ri* and help its functionaries organize the work, instead of trying to give guidance while remaining in the county seat.

It is desirable that they personally go to the *ri*, have talks with the peasants, synthesize the opinions of the management board members of the co-operatives and draw up plans for them, instead of pressing them for plans which they do not know how to formulate. Only in this way can the management board members learn planning. They cannot learn it even in a hundred years if they are simply urged to map out

plans in a hurry, as is now being done. Workteam leaders, who cannot even do sums properly, should not be pressed to submit complicated statistics; you had better go down, grasp the actual conditions and compile the statistics yourselves. Instead of just telling them to organize labour rationally, it is better to go and do it for them.

In this way the county people's committee should responsibly organize the work of the *ri* on all those questions concerned with continually developing the productive forces and promoting the technical revolution in the countryside, increasing the incomes of the peasants and improving their living standards, carrying out the cultural revolution, defending the gains of the socialist revolution and taking care of the common property of the co-operatives.

Now that a *ri* forms a production unit, a county people's committee with 20 *ri* under it has only to organize and manage these 20 production units well. The chairman of the county people's committee, considering himself the manager of a big factory, should regard the agricultural co-operative in each *ri* as a workshop of his factory and mobilize the functionaries of the county people's committee, giving meticulous help to the *ri* work. The county people's committee should assume the full responsibility for the work of all co-operatives in the county, each of them, of course, being run on a self-maintaining basis. Previously, the county people's committee was not keenly concerned whether farming was going well or whether the peasants' living standard was actually improving, and it considered its duty done when it had collected statistics and reported impressive figures to higher bodies, collected taxes and mobilized the peasants for road building or repairing. Now this absolutely will not do. In the days of the private peasant economy it could manage somehow or other in that way, but it will no longer work now. Today the county people's committee should not assume the attitude of a third party but a party directly concerned in the affairs of each agricultural co-operative. Only then can the county people's committee perform its functions in conformity with the new circumstances.

The county people's committee should in reality play the role of the lowest administrative body. At present there is, in form, the *ri* people's committee, which performs certain administrative functions, but it has been doing nothing in particular. In effect, it would be correct to regard the *ri* as a production unit rather than as an administrative unit. Therefore, the county people's committee should not try to concentrate its main efforts on guiding the lower administrative bodies, but should primarily perform the function of organizing the work of the agricultural co-operative in each *ri* which constitutes the production unit.

For this purpose, it is necessary to re-examine the apparatus of the county people's committee itself. It has hitherto been a miniature replica of the provincial people's committee. It would be better to replace the system of section chiefs and various other heads with that of instructors. Or you may call them organizers instead of instructors. I think it preferable to have farm organizers, stockbreeding organizers, etc., and set up a system of work under which the organizers go to the agricultural co-operatives directly and help them organize farming and stockbreeding.

Now let me refer to the work of the county Party committee.

The system of work of the county Party committee, too, should be reorganized immediately in keeping with the new circumstances. The county Party committee has thus far worked thinking that it has another leading body under it. But the leading organs of the Party comprise the Central Committee and provincial, city, and county Party committees, and directly under the county Party committee are the primary Party organizations, the basic organizations of our Party. Even the primary Party organizations in some big *ri*, where *ri* Party committees have been formed, are under the direct control of the county Party committee, and the *ri* Party committee, as stipulated in the Party Rules, is only meant to assist the county Party committee in the latter's guidance of the primary Party organizations. After all, the county Party committee is the low-

est leading organ of our Party and should directly lead all primary Party organizations in the county. This should be clearly understood first of all.

The county Party committee should regard the *ri* Party organizations as big cells and give them direct leadership, but it tries to lead them through the *ri* Party committees, and no wonder things do not go well. The county Party committee should perform its own duties in a correct manner, instead of sending one official dispatch after another and writing notifications day in and day out, as if it had some other leading body under it.

In fact, the chairman is the only full-time functionary in a *ri* Party committee, and the rest are farmers—co-operative members who must earn work-points to have their share. Under these circumstances, if so many dispatches and notifications are sent down, who will read, analyse and execute them? The *ri* Party committee chairman can never cope with them all by himself. As a result, he detaches quite a few persons from production and puts them to work as if they were full-time functionaries, and then unscrupulously gives them some work-points in reward for what they have done in the way of Party work.

The county Party committee should perform the functions of directly organizing and leading the work of the *ri* Party committee, bearing in mind that the latter is now the Party cell of a big production unit which is different both from the *myon* Party committee of the past and from the *ri* Party committee at the time of the private peasant economy. In other words, the county Party committee should lead the *ri* Party organizations in the same way as the Party committee of a big factory does the workshop Party organizations or as the regimental Party committee in the People's Army guides the battalion Party organizations.

First and foremost, the county Party committee should do its organizational work well. To do so, it should clearly understand the substance of the organizational work it has to perform. If you think that organizational work means simply call-

ing meetings, sending documents, writing notifications or doing odd jobs for the chairman of the county Party committee, you are mistaken. In a word, organizational work means rousing all Party members to action for the implementation of the Party's policies. To organize the activities of the Party, to mobilize the members, nuclei and cadres of the Party for the carrying out of revolutionary tasks and to activate the masses—this is organizational work. This is what the county Party committee is required to do in relation to all primary Party organizations in the county.

I have long since pointed out the necessity of wiping out formalism in Party work, but it still remains, and this can also be traced to poor organizational work. The key to breaking the pattern of formalism lies nowhere else but in drawing all Party members into Party work and getting them to conduct their activities consciously. When only a few cadres busy themselves with Party work, while the bulk of the Party members are not involved, it is quite natural that Party work should be shallow and ineffective. Formalism will be eliminated once and for all only when all Party members regard Party work as their own business and delve deep into it, do their part at their posts, adhere to Party principles and work devotedly for the implementation of the Party's policies.

The Party's propaganda work is inseparable from its organizational work. Without thoroughly educating Party members in the Party's policies, and without widely explaining and propagating them among the masses, Party members cannot play their vanguard role in the struggle for carrying through the Party's policies, nor can the creative energies of the masses be mobilized. Therefore, the county Party committee should effectively conduct its propaganda work, along with its organizational work. If this is done well, everything will proceed smoothly.

What is important in improving the work of the county Party committees is to put an end, once and for all, to administrative methods of work. In essence, sending down official papers and issuing orders and directives are methods alien to

Party work. What is fundamental in Party work is not this sort of administrative method but persuasion and education. We must not bluntly dictate to people, demanding that they do things irrespective of their ability. The more complicated and difficult the work is, the more must the people be awakened and shown the right direction. Only then will everyone move in that direction with confidence. The Party should patiently educate its members and awaken the masses in that manner.

You should have frequent talks with Party members, give them lectures, induce them to read books and direct their meetings, in such a way that all Party members will have a clear understanding of the intentions of the Party centre, will uphold the Party's policies wholeheartedly and go through fire and water to carry them out. Such is Party work, political work. By giving precedence to politics, which we always call for, is meant first doing this work well, followed by other work. When political work is done well, administrative work will naturally go well.

But the county Party committees themselves have failed to conduct the Party's organizational and political work satisfactorily. Take the Kangso County Party Committee for example. Putting aside this work, its proper function, its organizational department has spent much time preparing notifications and statistics. I was told that, last year alone, the Kangso County Party Committee submitted 63 reports to the provincial Party committee. Why were so many reports needed? There are 26 counties in South Pyongan Province, and if each of them were to submit 63 reports, the provincial Party committee chairman would have to read 1,638 reports a year. This would mean that he should read four to five reports every day of the year for 365 days, not even taking a day off. How can the provincial Party committee chairman read all that? It is impossible. So there has to be someone else on hand, whose job it is to inform him only of the important ones among them. If so, why waste time writing so many reports, instead of reporting only important matters from the start?

As for statistical reports alone, the organizational department of the Kangso County Party Committee submitted 24 returns last year This means that the chairman of the provincial Party committee has to read annually as many as 624 statistical reports from the county Party committees. I just looked over the reports and found that most of them were on sowing and various other campaigns, whereas few were on such essential matters as Party life.

As you see, the organizational departments of the county Party committees are not doing what they ought to, but are engrossed in paper work and play the role of a secretariat for the county Party committee chairman. All work reports and speeches he delivers are also prepared by the organizational department The county Party committee chairman rarely prepares his own reports For years I have not come across a single article in *Rodong Sinmun* that was written by a county Party committee chairman.

The situation is very serious The organizational department of the county Party committee must be getting all Party members on the move and activating primary Party organizations, but, on the contrary, it has been reduced to a documents section preparing reports and statistics day and night, to a secretariat in charge of clerical work for the county Party committee chairman. A secretariat of this sort, not provided for in the apparatus plan, seems to have been set up in many places; large or small, it seems to exist everywhere—in provincial Party committees, in each ministry, and power organ All this is the noxious aftereffect of Ho Ga I's style of work It is a habit formed in the days when Ho Ga I, who did not even know the Korean language properly, held an important post in the Party centre and his companions were provincial Party committee chairmen. In those days, many people thought that was the way to do Party work, and even the county Party committees were influenced by it That was in the past, but why should the county Party committee, and none other, work in this way even now, long after Ho Ga I's crimes were exposed? The county Party committee cannot lead the primary Party or-

ganizations in that manner. Instead of simply doing desk work, its functionaries should go down to the lower levels and organize the activities of Party members.

The propaganda departments of the county Party committees, too, act in a crippled manner. Their staffs do not go down to have talks with Party members and educate them, and to inspire the masses to carry out economic tasks, but think it sufficient for them simply to call up people and make speeches to them. The propaganda department of the county Party committee has been reduced to a propaganda department which is sedentary and gives short courses only. Regardless of time, it summons agitators to attend one short course after another. None of the agitators in the *ri* are full-time workers, all of them are engaged in farming. Nevertheless, the propaganda department just summons them at random. Why can't they go down to the *ri* and give short courses on the spot, showing people, by the way, a model of what a lecture should be like? They do not do this but just hang around their office, so that they cannot help but be estranged from the life of Party members and divorced from reality.

The Party members and the masses perform unconditionally whatever the county Party committee instructs them to do, regarding it as an instruction of the Party Central Committee, a task they must carry out at all costs in the interests of the revolution. When told to attend a short course, they set everything aside and attend it without fail, however busy they may be. This is an expression of their boundless trust in and loyalty to the Party. How good our Party members, our masses are! If we educated such good Party members, such good masses, in a proper manner and roused them to voluntary action, nothing would be impossible for us. We could even level mountains and fill the sea. The root cause of all shortcomings lies nowhere else but in our own failure to give correct leadership.

The work of the county Party committees should be reorganized so that all their functionaries will go to the *ri* Party organizations and conduct organizational and propaganda work

for them. Today when the whole Party is firmly united around the Party Central Committee and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses is running high, our socialist construction will be further accelerated if we improve the work of the county Party committees in that way and also reorganize the work system of the county people's committees, and if all the cadres at the county level go down to lower units and directly organize and aid in the work of the *ri*.

As there are 35 personnel in the Kangso County Party Committee, three of them can take charge of and assist in the Party work of two *ri*. Three are enough to make a close study of the Party members and cadres in two *ri*, guide all work knowing the situation there like the palm of their own hand. Besides, the Kangso County People's Committee has 113 personnel, and when they are divided among 20 *ri*, every five or six of them will take charge of each *ri*. Adding together the functionaries of the county Party committee and the county people's committee, seven or more persons can go and help each *ri*. This is a great force. If the cadres at the county level are thus grouped and go and help the *ri* in their work, it will ease the shortage of personnel, which is a big headache for our countryside where the socialist system has triumphed, and will bring about a great change in our rural work.

According to the actual conditions I have found in the course of my recent visit, there is no need for a county Party committee to have industrial and agricultural departments. What is the use of keeping the industrial and agricultural departments in the county Party committee when the county people's committee has such departments? The organizational department of the county Party committee can handle all cadres of the economic branches as well. In my opinion, we had better dismiss the idea of instituting co-operative organizational department in the county Party committee, too. Because such economic departments have been instituted, they tend to act for the administrative bodies and employ administrative methods in their work. All that is required is to make the economic departments of the county people's committee function properly

and to exercise Party control over them. It will suffice if the county Party committee has organizational and propaganda departments and conducts political work well. However, in order to guide and control the county people's committee in its fulfilment of the Party's economic policy and to assist in the dissemination of economic and technical knowledge among Party workers, it is desirable for the county Party committee to have two or three economic instructors. It would be most ideal if college-graduate specialists could be allocated for this purpose, but where such cadres are not available, those Party members who have some knowledge and experience in economic and technical affairs may be selected and allocated. As for the educational department of the county Party committee, I think we had better maintain it for the time being, until the work of the Democratic Youth League organizations is strengthened. The educational department of the county Party committee, too, may be abolished some day when the Democratic Youth League is able to give effective assistance in the functioning of schools.

In improving the method of leadership it is very important to strengthen the system of collective consultation and to establish correct working relations between the county Party committee and the county people's committee.

The county Party committee is a body of collective leadership which assumes full responsibility for everything that takes place in the county. Some people seem to think that since the county Party committee is not to act for the county people's committee in its activity, it should confine itself to Party organizational and ideological work and to the discussion of personnel matters, and should not take up other questions. This idea is wrong. Both the plenary and executive committee meetings of the county Party committee can and must take up any problem if need be. Only thus can the county Party committee perform its functions as a collective leadership body in the county.

Propagation of the Party's policies and the mobilization of the masses for the struggle to carry them out; education of

Party members and working people in communist ideology; *training, selection and allocation of cadres*; maintenance of social order and the safeguarding of revolutionary gains from enemy encroachment; acceleration of the technical and cultural revolutions; working out a local plan for the national economy; capital construction; rational organization of labour; and the *principal orientation in financial expenditure*—all these are questions which should be collectively considered by the county Party committee. Under the collective leadership of the county Party committee, the county Party committee chairman and the county people's committee chairman should divide the work, the former conducting Party work and the latter administrative and economic work. Here, the highest leading body should be the county Party committee.

The county people's committee, in all its work, must receive the guidance of the county Party committee. It is quite erroneous to think that the county people's committee can function, bypassing the county Party committee, because administratively it is under the provincial people's committee. *The county people's committee cannot exist independently of* the guidance of the county Party committee. All economic establishments, interior service organizations, judicial bodies and social organizations in the county, too, cannot work independently of the guidance of the county Party committee.

Just as the Presidium of the Party Central Committee leads at the centre and the provincial Party committee leads in the province, so the county Party committee must exercise overall leadership in the socialist revolution *and the building* of socialism in the county. All establishments and organizations in the county, without exception, must be subject to its leadership.

I emphasize this again because we have recently observed in a number of places the grave phenomena of working arbitrarily, in separation from the collective leadership of the Party. Such was the case in the Kangson Steel Plant. Its manager remained outside the control of the factory Party committee and ran a one-man show, paying no heed to the opin-

ions of others, with the result that at one time the work of the steel plant nearly went amiss.

During our recent stay at Chongsan-*ri*, we could see how much harm the Kangso County People's Committee had done by turning a deaf ear to the opinions of the Party and the voices of the peasants and by issuing orders in an arbitrary manner. At first it instructed the peasants to plant red beans, then to plough up the fields and plant maize and, in the end, forced them to plough up the fields once again to plant vegetables. This led the peasants to do the backbreaking work of turning up quite a large tract of land over and over again, without even being able to harvest the vegetables, which were planted too late. At a time when rice transplanting was at its height and weeding was overdue, the county people's committee made no scruple to mobilize the peasants at random for the building of a hotel and roads.

All this resulted from the failure of the county people's committee in its work to rely on the collective leadership of the county Party committee and to have regard for the interests of the masses.

All work must be organized and carried out along the line laid down by the county Party committee through collective discussion. The county people's assembly, too, must be guided by this line, and once a decision is adopted at the people's assembly, it becomes a law. No one is entitled to revise or violate it. All particulars of the local plan for the national economy—agriculture, local industry, capital construction, work organization, financial expenditure, etc.—should be implemented unconditionally once they are approved by the county people's assembly after the collective deliberation of the county Party committee.

The county Party committee should always check and control the fulfilment of the national economic plan, and discuss and decide upon flexible measures to remedy any defect in work. The county people's committee, acting upon the decision of the county Party committee, should carry out corresponding measures, and the Party organizations in the

county should render active assistance to guarantee their fulfilment. If things are done in this way, success will be assured not only in economic work but also in all other activities in the county. The system of collective leadership by the county Party committee should be firmly established on such principles.

There are two requisites for strengthening collective leadership by the county Party committee: first, to build up the body of collective leadership in a proper way and second, to enlist the wisdom of the broad masses.

It is important that the county Party committee be formed of competent cadres who are loyal to the Party. However hard one may try subjectively to be loyal to the Party, he cannot be loyal in practice if he does not enjoy the confidence of the masses and does not know how to work. That is why the Party committee must be composed of people who possess a strong Party spirit, enjoy public confidence and have ability; and workers of all branches should be represented in the county Party committee. Only then can it ensure collective leadership satisfactorily in the Party's organizational and ideological work, in economic work, in the struggle against counterrevolutionaries and in all other activities.

The most important thing in collective leadership is to bring into play the wisdom of the masses and gather their constructive opinions in a timely way. No excellent idea can be born of discussions by only a few members of the county Party committee, even if they meet and hold discussions all the time. New and bright ideas can emerge only when committee members mingle with the masses, live with them, and listen to their sincere opinions before making deliberations

Dynamic and creative wisdom is always found among the masses. Of course, fragmentary and immature as the opinions of the masses may be at first, it is the duty of Party workers to grasp them in good time, and supplement and systematize them through collective consultations. The Party's leading bodies should then disseminate among the masses the opinions thus summarized and systematized, and lead the masses to fol-

low them. This is precisely what constitutes political leadership, living leadership.

The great upsurge in socialist construction following the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the building of over 1,000 factories in only a few months by tapping local reserves, and the twofold increase in the number of machine tools in one year through the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement—all these are models of the able collective leadership of our Party Central Committee. Great strength can be displayed only by a collective leadership which relies entirely on the masses, draws at all times on their wisdom and strength, learns from them and teaches them.

In the performance of the functions of collective leadership by the county Party committee, it is important to cement comradely unity among its members, and particularly unity between chairmen of the county Party committee and the county people's committee. In the case of a factory, too, things will go well only when the Party committee chairman and the manager work hand in hand and are in rapport with each other. If the chairmen of the Party committee and the people's committee are to work successfully in close unity, they should be modest and frank with each other, and respect and help each other in a comradely way. There can be neither unity nor co-operation if they ride the high horse, look down upon the other and assume such attitudes as, "You may know politics but not practical work" or "You may know practical work but not politics." If anyone regards only his own views as best and does not respect, or even ignores, the views of others, collective wisdom can in no way emerge nor collective strength be displayed. As the saying goes, a general without an army is no general. Collective leadership requires of necessity the pooling of wisdom and strength of your comrades, and to do so everyone should learn from and teach each other, and help each other in a comradely way. When a comrade puts forward a certain view, hasn't he some basis for it, however insignificant it may seem? Then, his view

must not be turned down point-blank but must be studied carefully, and efforts should be made to pick out its rational kernel, even if the view is not entirely correct. Only when everyone takes such an attitude to each other, can opinions of Party committee members be readily co-ordinated into well-refined collective views, and a Party committee function actively as a united body of collective leadership.

It seems that there are now many places where cadres at the lower levels are not closely knit together. In quite a few places they seem to be united outwardly, but actually they are not, they are not ideologically united. This is true of the counties as well as of the ri True, it is more undesirable for cadres to connive at each other's shortcomings and practise nepotism, but it is also very harmful for them not to maintain comradely unity but to be at loggerheads. Such phenomena should be decisively eradicated.

Although the chairmen of the county Party committee and people's committee should respect each other's views, those of the Party committee chairman should carry more weight. The two should discuss matters together, but the county Party committee chairman should always make the final decision, since he generally has a greater vision and a higher level of political knowledge The chairman of the county people's committee works mainly with administrative and technical personnel of that committee, whereas the county Party committee chairman is able to hear the voice of the broader masses and synthesize their views better, because he personally leads the Party workers. A Party committee chairman who performs Party work properly can always find the right course by bringing into play the collective wisdom of the Party members and the masses, though a Party committee chairman who works formalistically cannot, of course, do so. Therefore, it is unjustifiable for a county Party committee chairman to brandish the authority of the Party and put on superior airs; but it is even more impermissible for a county people's committee chairman not to accept the views of the chairman of the county Party committee

I have one more thing to add in regard to Party work, that is, the question of improving the political and practical level of county Party committee instructors.

At present the level of instructors of provincial, city and county Party committees is very low. Here is an example. While we were in Kangso County to guide the work of its Party committee recently, we heard a report of an instructor from the provincial Party committee. He gave an account of how he had fulfilled an assignment, but however hard we tried, we could not make out at all what he was talking about. How could this comrade, whose account was so incoherent that we could hardly understand him, explain Party policy to the people and direct work at the lower levels according to it? His title was instructor, but how could he guide Party members and the masses when his level was so low? This is a very serious problem. If one is to play the elementary role as instructor, he should at least be able to analyse problems raised from below, distinguish between right and wrong and take appropriate measures, but our instructors pitiably lack such ability. This is the real state of affairs, but in the Kangso County Party Committee, its chairman, vice-chairmen and department chiefs pay little attention to elevating the level of instructors.

For instance, when a department chief wants to have an instructor draft something, he should give him an outline of its idea and content and teach him how to write it, and when the draft is completed, he must appraise and correct it meticulously, thus facilitating the improvement of the instructor. But he does not do so, but only orders him to draft it, and simply rejects it, saying it is no good. A certain comrade is said to have made such rejections no less than ten times. The instructor who wrote it did not know what was wrong and how, and only struggled with the task by himself; so, good writing will never come of this, and he will not be able to advance an inch in this way. Piling demands on an instructor without teaching or assisting him will never help to improve his level.

The most important thing in developing instructors is to acquaint them thoroughly with our Party's policies. Once they have a good knowledge of the Party's policies, they can analyse and tackle all problems with confidence and lead the masses along the right path.

Our Party policy is Marxism-Leninism applied to the concrete practice of the Korean revolution and is the guide to all our actions. To know it is tantamount to possessing a yardstick. All phenomena can be measured by this yardstick. Only when you have judged whether or not an issue is in accord with the Party's policies and what path should be taken to carry out these policies, can you distinguish right from wrong, adhere to principles and correctly solve the problem at hand. Therefore, instructors should be helped consistently to maintain this guiding principle firmly and random requests designed only to find faults should not be made. Without a correct understanding of the Party's policies, they cannot analyse things and, accordingly, cannot detect shortcomings, much less can give active political guidance to Party members and the masses, as instructors should.

In the past even instructors at the Party centre did not know the Party's policies well. Ho Ga I just kept all Party policies secret and was unwilling to let Party workers know about them. This practice was completely done away with only after the Third Party Congress. Since then, it has become a rule to inform cadres and all instructors without delay of any decision taken by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, except those that are highly confidential. A change has taken place in the work of instructors at the Party centre since they have come to have a clear understanding of the intentions of the Presidium and have grasped the Party's policies. Only when the Party's policies are grasped in this way, can you possess a broader political perspective, form your own views and advance firmly along the right path. I do not mean that such a change has never taken place in local bodies, but rather that it is still insufficient.

There is at present not a single domain, not a single branch

funds were dispersed. Such phenomena should be eradicated, and the main force of the co-operative should be concentrated on agricultural production, especially on the production of grain.

And the level of planning in agricultural co-operatives should be raised decisively. In the past target figures were set at random, but now efforts must be made to work out realistic and dynamic plans, taking the rural productive forces into full account. A plan should not be mapped out on the basis of the subjective desire of management board members. Plans must be drawn up on the basis of creative suggestions of the masses of co-operative members, after exhaustive discussions by the masses. But it should be borne in mind that once a plan is adopted by the unanimous will of the co-operative members, it becomes a law. Neither the chairman, nor the workteam leader, nor anyone else can revise or violate it arbitrarily. Discipline has been extremely loose so far in this regard, but this should definitely be corrected. A co-operative economy embracing hundreds of peasant households and hundreds of *chongbo* of land cannot be managed planfully, nor can various manifestations of spontaneity be checked without establishing strict discipline in planning.

Second, a serious defect is that distribution is not made correctly according to the socialist principle and the material interest of the peasants is not stimulated. Despite my recent repeated warnings and emphases on this score, things are not yet going well.

The socialist principle of distribution according to work done is now being grossly violated in agriculture. It is honoured in words only, not in practice. There are even serious cases of grain piling up in warehouses and distributed little by little in equal amounts, as though rationed. Even in those places where distribution is conducted in some way, work-points are assessed so inaccurately that strictly speaking, it is hard to say that distribution is made according to the socialist principle.

Most important is the fair assessment of work-points. It

is the prerequisite to correct distribution on the socialist principle. But at present the assessment is done in an extremely unfair, unprincipled manner. There is a tendency to give undeservedly many work-points for easier work on the ground that it requires skilled labour.

Here is an example. A man who idles away his time carrying a pair of pliers with him is given 1.5 work-points simply because he is an electrician. If he had a heavy workload and worked as hard as other co-operative members all day long, it would be another matter. But this is not the case. Though there is nothing special to do, an electrician is kept in vain, and is mechanically given 1.5 work-points every day. How unfair this is! Take another example. The members of the fishing team, too, are unconditionally given 1.5 work-points a day. There are no grounds for saying that fishing is more important than farming and, moreover, there is very little fishing to do on most agricultural co-operatives. So, the fishing team crew do their job leisurely, enjoying their boating before the wind. It is absurd to readily give these people the highest work-points every day. The case of mechanization workteam members is similar. Their work-points should be assessed, taking into full account what sort of job they have actually done today, how laborious the job is, how much skill is needed to do it and how much work they have performed. It is unfair to give them the highest work-points simply because they belong to the mechanization workteam. With things handled in this manner, 1.5 work-points are given indiscriminately even to a man who, with nothing particular to do, only strolls about all day long, blueprints in hand, supposedly for mechanization. The situation is really serious. Who would display enthusiasm for arduous farm work under such conditions? Before people are aware, all the shrewd and sleek people in the co-operative have quit the basic work and taken up the so-called skilled work, which is more facile while bringing them more work-points. The result is that farm work is left to pliable, hard-working women.

What should the agricultural co-operatives put stress on

of 4 tons per *chongbo* and forwards it to the province, the province raises it to 4.2 tons and forwards it to the county, which adds another 300 kilogrammes to make it 4.5 tons and submits it to the *ri*, where it is converted into a round figure of 5 tons. Such a practice in working out agricultural production plans should no longer be repeated. Instead of thus boosting the figures again and again with pencil and paper, the endeavour should be made to increase actual harvest by increasing the peasants' enthusiasm for production.

As I emphasized at the Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee last December, how could one possibly expect all our peasants to be already communist? It will be a long time before they are fully armed with communist ideology. When the level of the productive forces and the consciousness of the peasants are low, how can we boost production without material stimulus to the peasants? To make light of the principle of material incentive, while claiming that we are building socialism, is a violation of the elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism. We must resolutely combat such phenomenon.

I think that all our functionaries must also take a correct view of the agricultural tax in kind. Some people seem to think it better to raise the tax in kind a little higher, but there is no need to do so at present. Only when the rate of the tax in kind delivered to the state is low, can the agricultural co-operatives accumulate more for themselves and their members receive a greater share and benefit, and only then can their zeal for production be increased. We are now in a position to do so, and that is why we have boldly reduced the rate of the tax in kind.

Why then did we set the high rate of 25 per cent when we first instituted the system of tax in kind? Because it was inevitable under the circumstances at the time. Our country was then agrarian, and agriculture had to shoulder many burdens. Of course, this rate was very low as compared with pre-liberation days when half of the harvest was taken as farm-rent by the landlords; more was taken away outrageously by the Jap-

these rogues under the name of grain quota delivery, and so on. That is why the peasants who had become masters of land thanks to the agrarian reform heartily welcomed the institution of the system of tax in kind from the start. When they were given land free of charge and freed from all existing taxes and levies, and asked to pay only 25 per cent of their harvest while keeping the rest for themselves, the peasants said that their life had taken a new turn. We fought the war and developed our industry by virtue of the tax in kind paid by the peasants. But the situation is different now. Our country has turned into an industrial-agricultural state and has secured enough assets to further develop its industry and to render powerful assistance to agriculture with accumulation coming from industry alone. True, industry has long been assisting agriculture, but now the time has come for industry to render more comprehensive assistance to agriculture so as to accelerate the technical revolution in the countryside, lighten the peasants' work and increase their incomes. Proceeding from these considerations, we have taken measures to reduce the rate of the tax in kind to 8.4 per cent on an average, and even to completely exempt some co-operatives from it.

Since this has been decided by the Supreme People's Assembly, the relevant law should be properly implemented. However, we found in Kangso County that serious consequences had been brought about by incorrect fulfilment of it. The rate of the tax in kind was reduced to 8.4 per cent of the harvest envisaged in the state plan, but the target figures themselves were set too high last year and, consequently, the burden of the tax in kind on the peasants was not so much reduced. Thus they were not given great material incentive. Therefore, we must set reasonable targets and levy exactly an 8.4 per cent tax in kind from this year. If the amount of grain delivered to the state in the form of tax in kind is insufficient, the state may purchase grain from the peasants at a proper price. Now that there are neither individual peasants nor individual traders anywhere and everyone is included in the socialist economy, all the surplus grain of the co-operatives

To unite with the people and lead them to carry out the revolution so that they lead a happier and fuller life—this is the aim of Communists, and how can we attain this aim without respecting the interests of the people? All functionaries, particularly those of the county Party committees and the county people's committees who are in closest touch with the peasant masses, should be perfectly clear about this point.

Such is roughly the main questions which have come to my notice in the course of guiding the work of the Kangso County Party Committee.

In the work of Chongsan-*ri* and Kangso County, we have seen the typical situation of the rural *ri* and counties in our country today. The lessons and conclusions drawn therefrom will be of immense value in reorganizing the work of the *ri* Party committees, the management boards of the agricultural co-operatives and county Party committees and people's committees in order to make new advances in our socialist agriculture. I propose to the Presidium that intensive guidance work for all counties and *ri* in the country be organized on this basis.

To reorganize the work of the Party and government bodies in the county and improve the management of agricultural co-operative economy is the pressing demand of our present-day countryside, where the socialist economic system has been established and the technical and cultural revolutions are being pushed ahead. Let us make fresh, great progress in our socialist countryside by improving the system of work and method of guidance in conformity with the new circumstances!

ON THE SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
August 11, 1960

1. ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

At this Plenary Meeting the Central Committee of our Party has presented the programmatic tasks of the technical revolution and raised the question of improving and intensifying the training of technical personnel.

The technical revolution, as you know, is an undertaking of great significance in the history of our country; it is the most fundamental revolutionary task set by our Party in socialist construction at the present time.

We Korean Communists and the rest of our people have already done a really great deal of work. We have waged a national-liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism and beaten off an armed invasion by U.S. imperialism, and today we are carrying on a revolutionary struggle to achieve the reunification and independence of our country. Following liberation we effected a democratic revolution in the northern half of our country, wiping out the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism

and feudal forces. We also victoriously completed the socialist revolution, abolishing capitalism and co-operativizing small production. All this was a struggle to put an end to oppression and exploitation and create a new, free and happy life for the people.

Our Party is now confronted with the weighty tasks of further advancing socialist construction in the northern half, while mobilizing the revolutionary forces of the entire people to wage an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle to smash the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces and their stooges in south Korea and win our country's complete liberation and democratic freedom. We must carry out these tasks energetically and continue the revolutionary struggle in order to achieve the peaceful reunification of our country and ensure the genuine freedom and happiness of our people.

The technical revolution is an important revolution to emancipate our people, who have already been freed from oppression and exploitation, from hard and toilsome work, so that they can create more wealth with less effort, and to make the people's life richer and more cultured. For us Communists, who have taken power and are building a new society, this is a great undertaking, a lofty revolutionary task which absolutely has to be carried through to completion.

Had our country been a developed capitalist country, the technical revolution would not have posed a great problem in socialist construction. In the developed capitalist countries the industrial revolution was carried out and industrialization realized long ago, with the result that the people there are producing a great deal of wealth by using machines. It goes without saying that this wealth goes to the capitalists, and the working people are condemned to poverty, starvation and unemployment, but, at any rate, it is a fact that, under capitalism, machine technology has made considerable progress. In such countries, the question of the technical revolution is comparatively easy to solve once the working class seizes power, dispossesses the capitalists of machines and other means of production, and makes them the property of the people.

But in a backward agrarian country such as ours, which has not gone through the stage of normal capitalist development, the technical revolution presents itself as a very important and difficult task once the people have taken power and socialized the means of production.

The means of production we took from the Japanese imperialists, the landlords and the capitalists were actually insignificant. Not a machine was to be seen in the countryside; there were only cattle, *hori*, ploughs and the like. The industrial establishments set up by the Japanese imperialists in Korea were, for the most part, aimed at extracting raw materials and shipping them to Japan. And as for the processing plants, they were only capable of producing semi-finished goods. The Japanese imperialists did not, and could not, build a single establishment in the interests of the Korean people.

The Japanese monopoly capitalists were engrossed only in making huge profits by exploiting the cheap source of labour in Korea and were highly averse to introducing modern machinery. In factories, mills, mines and elsewhere, Koreans did manual labour and carried loads on their backs.

Thus, our country remained very backward technologically and economically, owing to the long years of feudal rule and colonial plunder. It was no simple matter to overcome such historical backwardness, and it required considerable time.

Surmounting all hardships and difficulties, we have put our economy—which had been ravaged twice—back on its feet and further developed it. Nevertheless, the level of technical development in our country is, in general, low, and primitive techniques are still applied widely in agriculture, local industry and various other branches. It is entirely due to the backwardness of our country's productive forces and the low level of its technology that our people are not yet living in plenty, although the sources of exploitation and poverty have been eliminated.

This is why we must push the revolution ahead. We have reorganized production relations along socialist lines, so that all our people may work and be well-off, but this alone is not

enough. We must now develop technology so that our people may work with less effort and earn a lot, and all of them may lead a bountiful life.

Only with the fulfilment of this revolution can we harvest more grain every year, produce more foodstuffs and articles for daily use, boost our catches of fish, produce and construct faster, more and better everywhere, thus ensuring a life of abundance and culture for all our people. This is the obligatory task of the Communists, and only when they have performed it can the Communists claim to have done their duty.

The technical revolution is a revolutionary task which has come to the fore in its turn in the socialist construction of our country. In keeping with the urgent demands of social development, our Party carried out the socialist transformation of our economy prior to its technological reconstruction. That was entirely correct. As a result, broad vistas were opened for the rapid development of technology and it became possible for us to push ahead with an all-round technical revolution, relying on the socialist system. Only by accomplishing this revolutionary task, now the order of the day, will we be able to reach the eminence of socialism and gradually go on to the building of communism.

In our country, not only has a social system which gives a powerful impetus to the technical revolution been established, but a material foundation has also been built for carrying it out.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party stipulated it as the basic line of economic construction to assure the priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture, with a view to laying the foundation of an independent national economy on the war ruins and quickly restoring the deteriorated living standard of the people. Thanks to the fact that our Party's line was a correct one and that our people carried it all the way through, tightening their belts and practising the strictest economy, we were able to heal the scars of war in only a few years' time, lay the foundations for indus-

trialization, and solve in the main the problem of providing food, clothing and housing for the people.

Without the development of heavy industry, industrialization and the technical revolution are impossible. Industrialization itself implies the creation of a heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core, and mechanization is basic to the technical revolution.

A great revolution can be effected in technology only with the introduction of machines. This holds true for agriculture, light industry, fishing, construction and all other branches of the economy. The manufacture of modern machines and equipment is of paramount importance in industrialization and in the technical revolution. And, for the production of machines, we need iron. It is not without reason that our Party, under the slogan, "Iron and the machine is the king of industry," has been concentrating its efforts on the development of these branches.

As you know, our country had no machine-building industry in the past. There were a few hundred metal-cutting tools in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, but most of them were used only for making spare parts, none for making machines. Now we have created our own machine-building industry, so that machine tools are in operation everywhere and we are able to manufacture and repair machines wherever necessary.

Though we had iron and steel industries in the past, the Japanese imperialists shipped out large quantities of crude iron ore and produced only pig iron and certain kinds of steel, but practically no rolled steel, in Korea. Even these industries were all destroyed in the war. Now, however, we are in a position to satisfy all our needs for pig iron, steel and rolled steel for ourselves.

Electricity, coal, chemical products and building materials are also needed for running our factories and developing our national economy, and we have restored and developed these branches of heavy industry quickly, too.

It is perfectly clear that if our Party had not laid down a

correct line of economic construction, built the firm foundations for an independent heavy industry and created the bases of the machine-building industry by making such tremendous efforts, it would be impossible for us even to speak of an all-round technical revolution today.

Because we have laid the foundations for our heavy industry, we are now fully capable of carrying out any task if we only make up our minds and set to work on it. Lately we have tried our hand at many things, relying on this asset. When we first suggested producing tractors, some people had misgivings and showed a lack of confidence. However, misgivings were replaced by confidence once we started to produce them. Now we are in a position to turn out thousands of tractors a year. People who had never ridden in a car before are now capable of producing so many automobiles. The manufacture of excavators also seemed beyond us at first, but, on producing them, we found that they were, after all, nothing but big mechanical shovels. We have also turned out bulldozers, semi-diesel engines, diesel engines and generators.

When everything depended on the machine tool, the mother of machine production, we launched a mass let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, turning out more than 13,000 above the state plan in a short period of time, simply by tapping latent reserves. The Ryongsong Machine Plant, for example, produced an 8-metre turning lathe and recently has even begun to build a 3,000-ton press.

We are also in a position now to build large-scale modern factories creditably, using our own designs, machines and materials. As for the restoration of the Hwanghae Iron Works, we say "restoration" because we used its old site, but, actually, it is little different from an entirely new construction. Now, to everyone's amazement, we are building a vinalon factory with an annual capacity of 20,000 tons, on the strength of the achievements of our scientific research, using our own machines, equipment and materials.

We have tried our hand at farm mechanization as well. In accordance with the decision of the Enlarged Plenary Meeting

of the Party Central Committee held last December, this year we have supplied a large number of tractors, lorries and various types of tractor-drawn farm machines to South Pyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces and introduced mechanization there. The results have been excellent and real prospects have been opened up for promoting mechanization at a rapid pace.

In this way, during the past year or two, we have had a go at just about everything that was once considered to be difficult.

In the course of experimenting with the technical revolution, we have rid ourselves of all our misgivings and sense of mystery and have gained the firm confidence that we can achieve anything once we choose to do it. Now that we have made all these tests, we can consider that conditions are ripe for initiating a drive for overall technological renovation in all branches of our national economy.

Just as in the case of agricultural co-operativization where we carried out pilot plans in a few villages and counties first, before going over to the full-scale stage, so in the technical revolution, too, we have made varied experiments and accumulated great experience by now. Therefore, we can now enter the stage of all-round technological renovation.

2. ON MOBILIZING THE WISDOM AND INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES TO CARRY OUT THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Effecting a full-scale technical revolution is a complex and arduous task which can be accomplished only by mobilizing the strength of all the Party and our entire people and surmounting all obstacles and difficulties.

The wisdom and enthusiasm of the members of the Heavy Industry Commission, the managers of the machine plants and

a few others are not enough to guarantee the successful completion of this task. There must be a technical revolution in more than just one or two branches. We have quite a few technologically backward branches of the economy: agriculture, local industry, construction, transport, fishing, lumbering and others. Full-scale technological reconstruction requires wisdom and initiative on the part of the masses. If a long period of time were allowed for its accomplishment, we could do it without much effort. However, we plan to accomplish in just a few years what took the capitalist countries a long period of time to accomplish. This would be impossible without harnessing the creative powers of all the working masses.

We have had good experience in working wonders by mobilizing the forces of all the people in our extensive building of local industries, the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, etc. Drawing on this experience, we must dynamically push forward the technological renovation movement in a drive of the whole Party and the entire people, and everyone should come out to participate in carrying out this honourable and worthy revolutionary task.

It is important, in enlisting the creative activity of the masses in the technological renovation movement, to do away with all the mysteries shrouding technology. Because they have lived so long in a backward state, our people may tend to regard machines as rather mysterious things. This is detrimental to the advance of the technical revolution.

Needless to say, the mystery-mongering has been dealt heavy blows and has been almost totally eliminated in the course of the upsurge of socialist construction and of the working of numerous wonders by our labouring masses. However, there still exist die-hards that have survived. We must round up all of them and change their way of thinking.

Then there is another tendency, that of ignoring or underestimating science. Like the mystery-mongering, this, too, holds back our technological development. Machinery itself is a product of the development of science; the technical revolution is inconceivable without science. The technical revolution

is, at the same time, a process of introducing the achievements of modern science in production and popularizing them.

Thus, there emerges the very important question of strengthening creative co-operation in the course of production between the workers who operate the machines and the technicians who have scientific knowledge. Accumulating new and viable experiences every hour and every day in their work, the workers are always racking their brains trying to find ways to produce more with less effort. It is, therefore, natural that they come up with good ideas for technological renovation more often than anyone else. But it is a weakness of the workers that they are familiar only with the machines they themselves operate, and have little knowledge of other related machines and their technical specifications, and they usually know things only by experience, and not well theoretically. To make up for this drawback and to ensure that the workers' brainstorms are incorporated into production, the assistance of technicians is absolutely necessary.

The technical revolution will go forward successfully only when the workers and technicians help each other and learn from each other, when experience and science go hand in hand. It is wrong for workers to refuse the help of science on the pretext of opposing mysticism; it is just as wrong for technicians to get swelled heads, as if they alone were learned, and refuse to accept what is new from the experience of the workers. Miracles can be wrought and the technical revolution bear fruit everywhere only when the workers, peasants, scientists, technicians and everyone else pool their talents and efforts.

In carrying out the technical revolution, it is also necessary to utterly do away with the tendency towards departmentalism.

Today all branches and links of our national economy are closely connected with each other, forming an integral whole. Therefore, should even one branch or link go wrong, it would greatly hamper the all-round technological renovation. Renovation in one branch, as a matter of fact, calls for the concerted assistance of other branches. In order to promote the tech-

nical revolution, overall co-operation must be strengthened among all branches of the national economy, all offices and all enterprises, and all reserves must be efficiently used in the interests of our entire country.

We will be confronted with many obstacles in carrying out the technical revolution, but none can check our advance or break the will of our people to leave backwardness behind as soon as possible.

Our people have lived through the grimmest ordeals of war and the sternest difficulties of postwar rehabilitation and construction. All of our tasks, without exception, have been attended with difficulties, but they have all been triumphantly carried through to completion, thanks to the correct leadership of the Party and the heroic struggle of the people. If we go on with the same stamina and fighting spirit, we will certainly succeed in scaling the peak of the technical revolution.

In fact, we started rehabilitation and construction on the war debris at a time when there was not a single brickyard or cement factory in operation and when all our blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and all other major facilities were destroyed. The memory of those days is still fresh in our minds.

One day, about a month before the armistice, I called in Comrade Paek Hong Gwon, who was then Minister of the Chemical and Building-materials Industries, and, together with some other comrades, we discussed the problem of building brickyards. The war was still going on, and we could not call in any experts, so we made an estimate by ourselves. But not having any table of standards and not knowing how to make the exact calculations, we were at a loss as to how to proceed. So I asked how many bricks were used in building Kim Il Sung University before the war. They said about 3 million were used. At that rate, I suggested, we would have to set up brickyards in many places as soon as the war ended in order to produce more than 600 million bricks annually because we would have to put up at least 200 buildings as big as Kim Il Sung University every year. All those present opened their eyes in astonishment and doubted that so many bricks would be need-

ed. It was a rough estimate, but a pretty close one, I should say. At present, 700 to 800 million bricks are being produced every year and despite the fact that concrete blocks are also being used, we still fall short of the number needed. We decided to build a brickyard at Kangnam to begin with, but, as the skilled workers had all been scattered, there was no one who could build the smokestack properly. The one put up did not draw well. As there was no help, we called together the scattered skilled workers, and rebuilt the smokestack. Then it was destroyed by enemy bombing and had to be built all over again.

As you can imagine, we were in tight straits economically and our officials were very poorly qualified towards the end of the war. It was not easy even to make a brick; we did not know how to build a smokestack; and, as we did not know how to make an estimate of the number of bricks needed, we were obliged to resort to a crude method of reckoning. It was under these circumstances that we began our rehabilitation and construction.

Well, how does the situation stand now? Everything has changed beyond recognition. Now is the summer of 1960, and it defies all comparison with the summer of 1953, the year the war ended. We have really made great progress in a short period of time.

When the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party laid down the line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and set the gigantic tasks of postwar economic construction, some people sneered, saying that the Central Committee of the Workers' Party was talking through its hat. Quite a few people came out against the Party's line of laying the foundations for our national industry, alleging that there was no point in constructing so many factories at a time when we were pressed for food and clothing. Even some of those who aided us by supplying machines asked why we did not take textiles but only took machines and whether we thought we could live on machines. Really, nobody

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cranes and bulldozers; it is needed practically everywhere. But it is not easy to make wire rope everywhere. Therefore, the Heavy Industry Commission should produce and supply goods of this sort in large quantities.

The demands of many branches of the economy for pipes, gauges, bearings, etc., must, likewise, be fully met. And, in the case of steel materials, instead of turning out just any large pieces at random, a sufficient amount of steel materials of different sizes should be produced by installing more rolling equipment and properly readjusting it. Only by so doing can we successfully manufacture diverse kinds of machines and equipment and step up technological renovation in all branches of our national economy.

An urgent problem in developing the machine-building industry is that of specializing the production of castings. I raised this problem once a long time ago, but it has not been solved yet, due to the lukewarm attitude of the workers in the branches concerned. So, I am stressing this question again at this Plenary Meeting.

There is no need to set up a casting shop in every factory. At present, a separate casting shop is set up wherever a few metal-cutting machines are in operation. There is no county farm-machine factory without its own casting shop, and even the repair and maintenance shops, almost without exception, are provided with casting equipment. Since casting is thus done everywhere, factories take up a lot of space, technicians and skilled workers are dispersed, and the quality of castings is not properly ensured; and iron is wasted because castings are made unnecessarily thick and cut off at random. When a casting does not turn out right on the first go, they break it and cast another. If yet another reject is produced, they repeat the whole process all over again—two or three times—causing no small waste of labour and coal.

A stop must be put to this sort of thing. It is advisable to run several specialized foundries in a centralized way and manufacture standard goods to supply to many factories. This will enable us to dispense with setting up a casting shop every time

we build a factory, to concentrate our technical forces on ensuring good quality for castings and to reduce iron wastage to a minimum. Moreover, specialization of the production of castings alone will make it possible to put an end to such practices as the workers' pouring iron by hand, using ladles, and carrying materials on their backs as they are doing now. With specialization, we can mechanize the entire process, prevent dust and raise labour productivity markedly.

But the Heavy Industry Commission has not done this, nor has the Pyongyang City People's Committee, claiming that the designing has not been completed as yet. The chairmen of the provincial Party committees, when going back to their respective provinces, must see to it, as a Party task, that the provincial economic committees take concrete measures to solve the question of specializing the production of castings.

Now, I propose that specialization be introduced in the production of spare parts as well, that the work load of the repair and maintenance shop of every factory be lightened and that such shops be simplified.

At present, there is hardly any factory that does not have its own repair and maintenance shop—and a big one, at that. Thus, various sorts of spare parts are made haphazardly. Nowadays it is regarded as a matter of course that a big repair and maintenance shop equipped with many machine tools should be set up when building a factory, and it has become a rule for every factory to make all the spare parts that it requires. We may call this a hangover of the capitalist way of organizing production, wherein every factory owned by capitalists produces in an arbitrary manner. There is no need to organize production in this way under our socialist economic system.

It is far more effective to produce and supply in a comprehensive way those spare parts needed in common by various factories, while equipping the repair and maintenance shop in a simple manner at every factory to produce the specific spare parts needed exclusively by that factory. Only by so doing can we make the most intensive and effective use of machine tools and save much social labour. At present, in the many repair and

maintenance shops of our factories, the utilization rate of the equipment is very low; and labour productivity is likewise low and there is much waste because repair and maintenance shops in each place undertake for themselves the production of bolts, nuts, coupling devices and other parts.

It is advisable to change the organization of production at an early date so that standard parts may be turned out in specialized factories. Take screws, for instance. How convenient it would be if each factory could order standard screws from specialized factories, instead of going to the trouble of making screws of diverse specifications at its repair and maintenance shop whenever they are required! This would make it possible to produce several times as many screws with the same amount of labour and materials and markedly raise their quality as well. The repair and maintenance shops in the factories should make only a few kinds of specific parts, using a small number of machine tools and workers, and rely on the specialized factories for other kinds of parts to repair their equipment regularly. Some factories might even be operated from the start without their own repair and maintenance shops.

Such standardization and specialization of the production of spare parts would not only be instrumental in raising the utilization rate of equipment and economizing on labour and materials, but would also be highly advantageous in improving the work of designing, raising the quality of machines and bettering technical management. We must energetically push forward the work of specializing the production of parts as well as tools, jigs and other implements, and of making simpler repair and maintenance shops in the factories.

Another point I would like to emphasize in regard to the machine-building industry is the need for the large-scale introduction of the stamping method. At present the cutting method is mainly employed, while stamping method is rarely used. Here, too, I think, a change is needed.

The application of the cutting method requires many processes. Moreover, iron is wasted, precision is not properly ensured and the process is slow. But when the stamping method

is employed on a large scale, a lot of work can be done quickly, far fewer machine tools are needed, iron wastage is reduced and high precision is ensured. We suggested that this method be introduced extensively, and functionaries in the machine industry have promised to do this but have not yet done so. We must boldly carry out what we have decided to do and even now we must start popularizing the stamping method widely.

We are able to manufacture any number of presses on our own all over. So far, through the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, we have mainly increased the number of metal-cutting machines. Now we must launch a movement to produce more presses. Various presses, large and small, including those of 100 and 500 tons, must be made and the Heavy Industry Commission must supply the steel necessary for their construction. Only then can farm machines, machines needed in local industry and various other pieces of equipment be turned out faster, better, and in larger numbers.

One of the most urgent tasks we must tackle in technological renovation is to improve our work of designing. Our Party gave close attention to the training of designers even under the most difficult conditions of war, and it vigorously pushed this work ahead particularly in the postwar years. As a result, many designers have been trained and we are now able to design and turn out for ourselves precision machines, heavy machinery and other kinds of machines and equipment whose designing and production were beyond us in the past. However, our corps of designers still falls far short of the demand. It has, therefore, become a matter of urgency that we make the most effective use of our present corps of designers, while training more for the future.

What measures are required for us to make a rational use of our limited corps of designers? Specialization is needed in this field, too. Since there still is no specialization in the work of designing, our designers must now work on any jobs that are assigned to them. Designing is performed in such a haphazard manner that a designer must work now on one machine

design, now on another, then on yet another. So, each time he is forced to consult books in order to do his job. This costs dearly both in labour and in time, and the designs are not of a high quality either. No strict specialization is now practised in any of our designing institutes, and a single institute draws up designs of every kind.

This way of organizing work should be definitely corrected. To cite an example, the designing of machine tools should be concentrated in one specific designing institute on a national basis. We will decide later where this institute should be located, whether in Kusong or in Huichon. But the suggestion is that the designing of machine tools should, in any case, be specialized at one institute alone and that all the ministries and branches should get the designs of the appropriate standard from this institute to turn out machine tools, instead of going to the trouble of designing machine tools for themselves. Another example is the designing of electric motors. This is being done by different establishments separately, but I suggest that, instead, electric motors, generators and other electric machines all be designed by one institute. This will free the establishments and branches from the need to draw up their own designs for the electrical machinery they need and will enable them to obtain blueprints of motors, generators, etc., of the required size from this institute and to produce them as many as they want.

The Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee and the Heavy Industry Commission should play a central role in taking concrete measures to introduce specialization in the work of designing, on the basis of a correct estimate of the corps of designers available in each branch.

The introduction of the gasification of coal in production, as pointed out in the report and referred to in speeches, is of very great significance in technological renovation in our country today.

During a recess yesterday, I saw a synthetic-rubber tyre, the result of research at Kim Il Sung University. It was quite satisfactory.

For its mass production, however, it is urgent to solve the]uestion of raw materials. Some comrades have proposed the :xtensive cultivation of potatoes and sweet potatoes to obtain ılcohol, that would enable us to produce synthetic rubber. But t is difficult to employ this method in our country, which has ı small area of arable land. That is why the Presidium of the ?arty Central Committee was against the proposal for using ırable land to obtain raw materials.

Our country has inexhaustible deposits of limestone. We nust *make carbide from the limestone to obtain alcohol. This is* he only way. In the future, we must continue to follow the ıne of obtaining carbide, in accordance with our domestic re- ources and our actual conditions

However, this requires a lot of electricity, so it is of par- icular importance that we gasify coal by using oxygen in- tead of electricity.

Moreover, our power supply is insufficient at present, so ve cannot turn out as much fertilizer as we want. Once the]uestion of the gasification of coal is solved, we will be able to :ompound ammonia and produce any amount of fertilizer with- ɔut using electricity. The solution to the questions of extracting ılcohol and making rubber from it, of compounding ammonia to ɔroduce large quantities of fertilizer for higher yields of grain ınd other crops, of using domestic coal in metallurgy to save ɔn coke, as well as the solution to many other questions, de- ɔends, to a great extent, on the gasification of coal. Therefore, hose who solve the question of the gasification of coal will nake a great contribution to the development of the national :conomy of our country and are patriots who will earn the vell-deserved esteem of all our people.

But, in the past two or three years, we have never gone ɔeyond *the talking stage and, in practice, very little progress* ıas been made in the research work for this field. The State ?lanning Commission, giving one pretext or another, has failed o vigorously push ahead with research work on the gasifica- ion of coal. This is not correct. Once an orientation has been lecided upon, it should be followed without vacillation The ef-

forts of scientists and technicians should be enlisted and all the necessary conditions provided to solve the question of the gasification of coal.

In the renovation of our technology, we should place great emphasis on chemicalization. This will assure the quickest solution to our problem of consolidating raw-material bases for light industry in our country.

Above all, a boost should be given to the work of laying foundations for the production of synthetic resins. When the vinyl chloride factory now under construction is put into operation, raw materials needed for making various new kinds of articles for daily use will be produced and high-quality materials supplied for construction, as well. At present, our scientists are very eager to work, but they are not being given proper assistance by the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. All the apparatuses and reagents needed in research work must be provided and measures taken to solve, in a timely and satisfactory way, the technical questions which arise in the production and processing of synthetic resins.

Moreover, we should make every effort to accelerate the construction of the vinalon factory. When the construction of this factory is completed, not only will fine synthetic fibre be turned out, but an important basis for our country's chemical industry will be laid. All branches should make the utmost effort to ensure the completion of the construction of the vinalon factory ahead of schedule.

Another important task is that of developing an electronics industry. It is a serious defect that we have no such factories in our country as yet. During a visit to a foreign country, I had an opportunity to inspect a factory of this kind. We, too, can build and operate such a factory, and it is high time that we did so. We must create and develop an electronics industry in the near future, thus opening up a new phase in technological renovation.

2. ON THE MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

I would like to refer briefly to the mechanization of agriculture.

While making a tour of the Changsong, Pyokdong and Sakju areas recently, I pondered over how we could step up mechanization in the mountain regions. Large tractors, even if supplied in great numbers, cannot be used effectively in such places where the plots are all small, the fields are dotted over with stone heaps, many of them sloping, and the villages are far off. They may be of service for hauling, but are not suitable for field work in those areas. And, since the distance to be covered is great, lorries are more serviceable than tractors for hauling. It is no accident that the rate of utilization of large tractors allocated to the mountain regions is very low. What, then, is to be done? Medium-sized tractors must definitely be built in large numbers and supplied to those regions. In fact, large tractors are almost useless there.

If we manufacture a large number of 10 or 15-h.p. tractors and send them to the mountain regions, ploughing can be fully mechanized even on fairly small plots. We should test the 10 or 15-h.p. tractor which the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute designed for use on sloping land. If it turns out to be efficient, we should see that tractors of that type are produced as soon as possible.

Hauling, farming and many other types of work in the mountain regions can be mechanized when more lorries are supplied and medium-sized tractors of this kind are sent there. Medium-sized tractors can be used without any problem for hauling on comparatively narrow, rugged paths. A 10-h.p. tractor can haul a load weighing a ton and a 15-h.p. tractor can easily do a load of 1-1.5 tons. Medium-sized tractors, if used in proper combination with various tractor-drawn farm implements, will make it possible to mechanize all work such as ploughing, planting, inter-row cultivation, weeding and harvest-

recently, and it would be very convenient to make vermicelli with it and distribute them. However, this kind of work is not being done. In Pyongyang, nobody organizes such work, even though some of the equipment at the Cornstarch Factory is lying idle.

Factory and school cafeterias make only bread and serve it every day, although they could serve a varied menus without difficulty if they just made a vermicelli ricer or a device for making dumplings. Workers and students complain that they are fed up with bread, and small wonder! Why do those concerned not think of serving different menus that appeal to us Koreans, making vermicelli, dumpling soup, stuffed dumpling and so on? How can those people who are disinclined to do even such an elementary thing profess to carry out the technical revolution? They must do away with old habits once and for all and lend culture to the table by processing foodstuffs better.

The processing of maize by industrial methods is a matter of urgency. Yesterday, together with some other comrades, I visited the Cornstarch Factory to make a study of the processing of maize, which is very important because it provides us with starch, glucose, edible oil, etc. We should devote our special efforts to quickly solving the problem of separating embryo buds from maize and extracting oil from them.

We have 700,000 to 800,000 *chongbo* of maize fields. If each *chongbo* yields two tons, we will harvest every year about 1.5 million tons of maize. Maize is said to have an oil yield of 3 per cent. So, from only a million tons of maize, we can obtain 30,000 tons of edible oil. In the case of bean oil, we get only 50 kilogrammes from a *chongbo* of bean field. Therefore, in terms of oil, a million tons of maize is equal to 600,000 *chongbo* of bean fields.

We must lose no time in building factories to separate embryo buds from maize and extract oil from them. If you find it difficult to come up with a new design, you had better set up small-scale factories similar in structure to the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory. Only when we have definitely solved this problem and gone in for cultivating various other oil-bearing

crops in a big way, extracting large quantities of oil, can we successfully accomplish, within a short period, the task set by the Party of supplying our people each day with 20 grammes of edible oil per capita.

Meanwhile, the food industry should continue to give close attention to widely acquiring and processing the food resources abundant in the local areas.

This year there is a shortage of alcoholic beverages in Pyongyang and many other cities. Only the people of Changsong County have had enough, and they have even supplied large quantities to other districts. This is explained by the fact that the people of that county, faithfully carrying out the Party's policy, have been steadily developing an industry for making alcoholic beverages from such wild fruits as haws, wild strawberries and wild pears since last year.

There is no region in our country that does not have mountains, and no mountain without such fruits as wild grapes, mountain cranberries, haws, wild strawberries and wild pears. Not only that. We have planted many fruit trees and are constantly expanding our orchards. We must pick all these fruits in time and develop industries for processing them everywhere on a full scale. In this way we will be able to produce, at low cost, various kinds of good wines, fruit syrups, dried fruit and canned fruit of high quality to meet the people's needs.

4. ON IMPROVING THE TRAINING OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

In closing, a few words on the training of technical personnel.

With the rapid progress of our socialist construction, the demand for technical personnel today is greater than ever before. Our Party has put a lot of efforts into training the nation's technical cadres all along and, especially, last year it raised the

to difficulties and has a very strong will to move forward. We should skilfully depict a course of life in which a man, once subjected to humiliation and oppression, labours devotedly in the face of ordeals and succeeds at the end due to his strenuous efforts and moral improvement.

In our country there are now countless people who are qualified as heroes of this type. Our Chollima riders numbering thousands and tens of thousands are all heroes of our era, smashing all that is backward and creating a new, good society by their heroic struggle and creative labour. And it is most regrettable that there is not a single film which represents the Chollima riders.

Indeed, there are also shortcomings in the performances of our actors and actresses in our films, but that does not seem to matter much. There are people who say that no good films are produced because the studios do their work poorly, but that is not the case. The job of the studios is mainly the technical side of the production and not the ideological content of the films.

The main point is the ideological content of the films, which is very poor.

For instance, I saw a film which handled the love problem. It had no ideological content at all; it was quite insipid. It will not do for us to depict love for love's sake. Love for love's sake is a manifestation of naturalism. It has no educational value for us and, what is more, it can be rather harmful.

Love between men and women of a new type must serve the noble aims of the revolutionary cause, and be closely linked with the struggle for victory in the revolution. Our films, therefore, should hit out at the decadent love of those who forget the revolutionary cause and indulge only in personal enjoyment, and should exemplify the noble and beautiful love of a new type of young people who are waging a heroic struggle for the great aims of socialist construction, helping and leading each other forward.

The question of ideological content should be settled first of all by the scenario writers. No good film is being turned out

because the scenario writers fail to write good works. If the scenario writers turn out good scripts, there is no reason why good films cannot be produced even though the studios have some failings and shortcomings. The trouble now is in the scenarios.

The musical setting is also largely responsible for the low quality of our films Scenes of valour ought to be accompanied by songs that are stirring and full of hope. But they are not. Because inappropriate songs that do not correspond to the scenes on the screen are thrown in haphazardly, the audiences are not impressed.

Our music, too, is lagging way behind reality. It fails to express truthfully the great forward movement of our people who are rushing ahead like the wind. There are no good new songs being turned out for our Chollima riders to sing vigorously and cheerfully. Blue water runs across the mountains and the rivers to wet the paddies and dry fields; tractors and lorries work the fields and carry the loads in place of human hands and feet; still we do not hear lively and beautiful songs which sing the praises of this epoch-making change in the countryside.

The music-and-dance epic *Our Glorious Fatherland* is indeed a big piece of work, but it is a medley, and not a great unified work. There is no ground whatever for complacency merely because a work like this has been created.

Songs must be composed to suit the sentiments of the people. When a battle is on, songs suited to the battle are needed, and when work is being done, songs appropriate to labour are needed. Songs sung when rice seedlings are bedded out should be different from those hummed when earth loads are poled in pairs, though both are work songs. Thus, only when songs suitable to the given occasions are sung, can the soldiers fight valiantly and the workers and peasants increase production. There can be no one song that well suits every place and time, and only those songs which reflect the spirit of the times and suit the given circumstances can appeal to the hearts of people.

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day, more than ever we need joyful and stirring songs which rouse people to creative labour. When people sing encouraging, stirring songs, they forget weariness and fatigue.

People are fond of the *Chollima March* because it has reflected the spirit of our era and is in keeping with the sentiments of our people. *A New Song Flows Out of the Village Across the River*, sung in the way they sing the western provincial ballad, appeals to me. It has a Korean flavour, and encourages us when we hear it.

The *Weavers' Song* and *Song of the Well Side* are also good. However, we cannot sing just these few songs all the time. We should have many new songs. But when we hear many of the new songs that have been turned out recently, such as the *Song of Smelters* and *Song of Machine Workers,* we do not feel anything new, because they are all rehashes of old tunes in one way or another, and there is little to choose between in their melodies.

In songs, too, the important thing is the ideological content.

A song for song's sake is of no use, and those which merely sing the praises of nature are also of little value. True, songs which eulogize the beauty of nature please people. But more valuable are songs which give expression to the earnest life of the people and their struggle for the attainment of their great aims. The attitude of singing the praises of nature alone, keeping aloof from social life, is an expression of naturalism or the art-for-art's-sake doctrine and it harmfully influences the working people to abandon the struggle.

The people like songs of a high ideological standard. Only those songs which the people accept, love and sing with pleasure are useful; what is the use of songs which only a few experts understand and like? The ideological viewpoint that art can be understood only by experts, is fundamentally wrong.

The people are the real critics of art. No critic is wiser than the people. Works that have passed the judgment of the people should be regarded as good works, and those which have not, as bad ones. Novels, poetry, music, cinema and all other

arts should be intelligible to the masses of the people and should serve them.

There are certainly shortcomings in the work of our literature and art at present. All our people are racing ahead in the spirit of Chollima riders, and there is no reason why the scenario writers or composers alone should lag behind. Our writers and artists, too, must, and can, ride Chollima to create great works. The question is to eliminate the shortcomings in this branch as soon as possible.

The principal defects in the work of literature and art are, first, that the writers and artists still have not deeply grasped the Party's policies, second, that the writers and artists fail to delve deeply into the life of the people; and, third, that the organizational leadership in this branch is poor.

All our writers and artists want our people to build socialism faster and better so they can live more happily, and they support our people's Chollima Movement. However, the Chollima spirit is not well embodied in the creative activities of the writers. This, after all, is proof that our writers have not yet fully accepted the Chollima spirit, and that they are not breathing the same air as the masses of the people. If you accept the Chollima spirit, you should turn out works which express the same spirit.

First of all, I think that our writers and artists need to make a serious study to determine the ideological roots of their failure to grasp the spirit of the times properly. The trouble seems to be that our writers do not, after all, have a profound grasp of the Party policy.

The vanguard of our people is our Party. Without knowing the intentions of the Party well, it is impossible to have a correct understanding of the great forward movement of our people. One cannot really understand our realities simply by going into the factories or the countryside at random without deeply studying the Party policy. Only those who are firmly armed with our Party's policy can distinguish the new and the old and correctly discern the essentials among the complexities of reality. Hence, before anything else, writers and artists

should make a deep study of our Party's policy to understand its revolutionary stand and scientific, Marxist-Leninist attitude and methods in relation to the realities.

Our literature and art should by no means depart from the interests of the revolution and the Party's line, nor should they tolerate those elements which cater to the taste and liking of the exploiting classes. Only revolutionary literature and art based thoroughly on the line and policy of the Party can truly enjoy the love of the masses of people and become a powerful Party weapon in educating the working masses in the revolutionary spirit of communism.

All the lines and policies of our Party have proceeded from our country's realities and are an expression of the interests of our people. The Party policy is embodied in actual life through the practical struggle of the toiling masses.

Only literature and art born of the realities and closely linked with the practical activities of the masses, can become a truly Party and revolutionary literature and art. Only realistic works of literature and art which give a vivid and profound portrayal of actual life, can appeal to the hearts of people.

Writers, therefore, should know the realities well and delve deeply into the life of the masses of people.

As long as writers and artists remain sitting in Pyongyang, nothing will happen. The life and struggle that impassion people can be seen only when one visits factories and can be experienced only when one goes to the countryside. A good knowledge of realities can be obtained only when you keep constant contact with the workers and peasants and delve deeply into their life.

You should carefully observe the life of the workers and peasants. But observation alone is not enough. Our writers and artists should plunge daringly into the flames of the workers' and peasants' struggle and acquire the ability to view actual life with the same feelings the fighting workers and peasants have. Only then can they be called writers and artists who have experienced the life of our people, only then can they create

works which enjoy the love of the popular masses and serve them.

Without knowing the people's life well, you cannot truthfully depict our realities and correctly represent the thinking, sentiments and features of the new man of today.

Young people of today are different from those of the past, and old people are also not the same as those of days gone by. Nor can actors correctly portray the new men who are constantly changing and developing, unless they dig into the realities.

What our writers and artists should be particularly concerned about today when they go down to factories or farm villages, is discovering a new type of men and making a good, detailed study of their life. If our writers make a good picture of the happy and worthwhile life of a Chollima rider, it can be good material for the education of thousands and tens of thousands of working people.

At present our Party exerts great efforts to educate and remould the masses. School education or propaganda and agitation alone are not enough for this purpose. Only by mobilizing all forms of literature and art such as novels, poetry, plays, the cinema and music—which are excellent means of mass education—can you effectively conduct the work of educating and remoulding the masses.

In particular, those works which portray Chollima riders are very good means for carrying out our Party's policy of educating people through positive examples.

Of late, our Party has made some change in methods of educating people. While in the past the emphasis in the education of people was on criticism of negative phenomena, prominence is now given to positive examples.

We have also stopped carrying satires in the newspapers The satires are a practice imported from abroad, and they do not quite agree with the natural idiosyncrasy of the Koreans We have thrown them into the dustbin of dogmatism as an educational method which consists only in dredging up the people's defects. Our newspapers carry exemplary facts and mov-

ing, praiseworthy episodes instead of satirizing, educating people with them.

Following the March 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the guardhouse system in our People's Army was abolished and the internal regulations were also revised. This guardhouse system, also, does not agree with our people. People should be educated not by forcible methods, but by persevering persuasion and positive examples.

What is the result of the abolition of the guardhouse system? Some time ago, I visited People's Army units and had talks with soldiers. At that time, I asked a first sergeant if there was any violation of discipline after the abolition of the guardhouse system, and he answered there was none. So I questioned: how could it be possible that there had not been even a single case of violation of discipline in two years? Then, he admitted that there had been one such case: a private used to doze off at every meeting. So, the first sergeant, thinking that it was because he did not let his men have sufficient rest, sent them to bed early. After that, he said, no comrade ever fell asleep at a meeting.

Later, I visited a certain brigade on the east coast and asked the same thing. An officer answered that there had been a case of violation of discipline. According to him, a private had slipped out secretly at night to see his girl friend and then returned. So I said that if the political workers had delved deeply into the life of the soldiers and had worked for timely solutions to problems which had been worrying them, such a case of violation of discipline could have been prevented beforehand.

People are liable to commit errors and reveal shortcomings because everyone has survivals of the old ideas. It is alien to our Party's policy to forsake those people who have obsolete ideas, who have committed errors. Our Party has consistently followed the policy of remoulding people who have obsolete ideas into new men through persevering educational work.

Communist society cannot be built by the strength of one or two extraordinary men. To build a society in which all the

working people can live a life of plenty, everyone should be brought into activity. We should continue to educate and remould all the working people so they may accept the cause of socialism and communism as their own and struggle voluntarily for it.

Under our social system today, anyone can become a communist new man. Under our system, one who follows the wrong path is an exception; the absolute majority are on the right track. So, help them a little, and they can all become fine Communists. Unless everyone is remoulded along the communist lines in this way, the complete victory of socialism cannot be achieved and communist society cannot be built.

In our country a mass movement for educating and remoulding people is now under way. Even young girls have turned out to educate and remould people, declaring with confidence that all people can be remoulded except the class enemies.

Thus, even the hopeless delinquents in our country are being remoulded. There is even a case of a merchant's wife who was remoulded and then reformed her husband who was in a rehabilitation house. She visited her husband once a week to educate him, with the result that the merchant became repentant of his evils and, at last, went so far as to tell his wife where he had buried gold rings and other articles [illegible] which, he said, she should dig up and offer to the state.

When we see that even people who have committed [illegible] ous crimes can all be remoulded in this way, [illegible] saying that those who are a little unruly could [illegible] remoulded.

As for the families of those who ran away [illegible] Party pursues the policy of accepting and [illegible] moulding all of them except a handful of [illegible] Party has also sternly criticized the [illegible] mentally suspecting the returned prisoners of war [illegible] people to treat them warmly. Comrade Chin Ung [illegible] worker of the Kangson Steel Plant, is a returned prisoner of war. This comrade is none other than the man who initiated the [illegible]

Workteam Movement. The Party actively backed up the excellent initiative of Comrade Chin Ung Won. Today the Chollima Workteam Movement has risen and is spreading like wildfire over the whole country, vigorously impelling the socialist construction of our people.

Educating and transforming people is an honourable task devolving on writers and artists. Our writers and artists should educate and remould the laggards in their ranks and turn them all into fine soldiers of our Party in the field of literature and art. And all writers and artists should depict—and thereby give a stronger impetus to—the great mass movement of our people who, united as one in mind and in spirit, are educating and remoulding men. The more successfully this work of educating and remoulding people is expedited, the greater force our people will display in all fields of socialist construction.

The world people are now watching with admiration the struggle of our people as they build socialism at Chollima speed, and they are anxious to know the secret of our people's victory. Our writers and artists should clearly demonstrate, through their works, where the source of our people's strength lies.

The reason that there is little progress in the field of literature and art is also attributable to defects in organizational leadership. It seems that the Party's leadership is weak and the mass line is not well carried out in this domain.

While exercising control by administrative methods, the Ministry of Education and Culture neglects its political work among those engaged in literature and art. I have heard that the Minister of Education and Culture personally examines scenarios, but that is no way to settle matters. The Minister may sometimes examine scenarios, but that is a job primarily for the writers. The Ministry of Education and Culture should conduct adequate political work to enlist the collective wisdom of the writers and artists, instead of giving administrative guidance, occupying itself with individual problems.

It seems necessary to introduce some changes in the system of guiding literature and art. It will do well to form a fed-

erate organization which covers all branches of literature and art, and for the Party to give direct guidance. It seems necessary to unite groups of writers, composers, dancers, etc., in the General Federation of Literature and Art as before, to make them work collectively under the leadership of the Party.

At present various branches do not receive mutual education and mutual criticism, and each is going its own way. Whatever branch of literature and art is working by itself will fail to see its own shortcomings. What is wrong can be detected only by others. A composer thinks his work the best, but when others listen to it, they can find shortcomings of which the composer is not aware, and can give good advice.

It is necessary to organize symposiums frequently. It will be good to invite workers, peasants and students, too, to the symposiums. Writers seem to hold such meetings rather often, but composers do not. The workers and peasants can make good suggestions about songs, too.

Literature and art can also be developed rapidly only by drawing on the strength of the masses. The strength of a few professionals alone will yield no results.

It is necessary to have many correspondents everywhere. Since the correspondents always live among the masses, they could write rather better works than the professional writers who are confined to their office rooms. There are many middle-school and college graduates working in factories. Give them a little help, and they, too, will be able to write works. The mistaken idea that professional writers alone are able to write scenarios should be cast aside.

The viewpoint that only the professionals can compose music is also wrong. Workers or peasants can all write music. Compositions by workers and peasants who have insufficient training in music, may have defects which conflict with musical standards. If such defects are corrected by the professionals, they will be all right.

As you all know, there are now dramatic sketches and other works created by local circles of amateur artists which are better than those produced in the capital. There are also

very excellent works among those produced by schoolteachers in the farming districts. It is because these works have been born of real life.

Many of the songs which the anti-Japanese guerrillas sang were produced by the guerrillas themselves. Of course, they were not artists; none had attended a conservatory. Many of them were working youths who had only the knowledge of a middle-school graduate at best; there were but few college graduates. The revolutionary songs which we are singing today are the natural and truthful representations of what they felt in their life and struggle.

All this testifies to the fact that there is nothing mysterious about writing scenarios or music, and that not only can workers and peasants take part in literary and artistic creation, but that, without their active participation, there could be no efflorescence of a really popular art.

We have many talented writers and artists. If all writers and artists make sincere efforts, upholding the Party's leadership, they will be able to rapidly develop our literature and art to fit in with our era.

The writers who have accumulated much experience in literary and artistic activities should personally stand in the vanguard and lead the young people forward. Of course, they should lend an open ear to the opinions of the young people, too. They should always hold lively, collective discussions and give active support to all constructive opinions.

The Party will do everything in its power to help you in your work. I sincerely hope you will bring about an epochal turn in the development of literature and art by waging a more energetic struggle to carry through the Party's policy on literature and art.